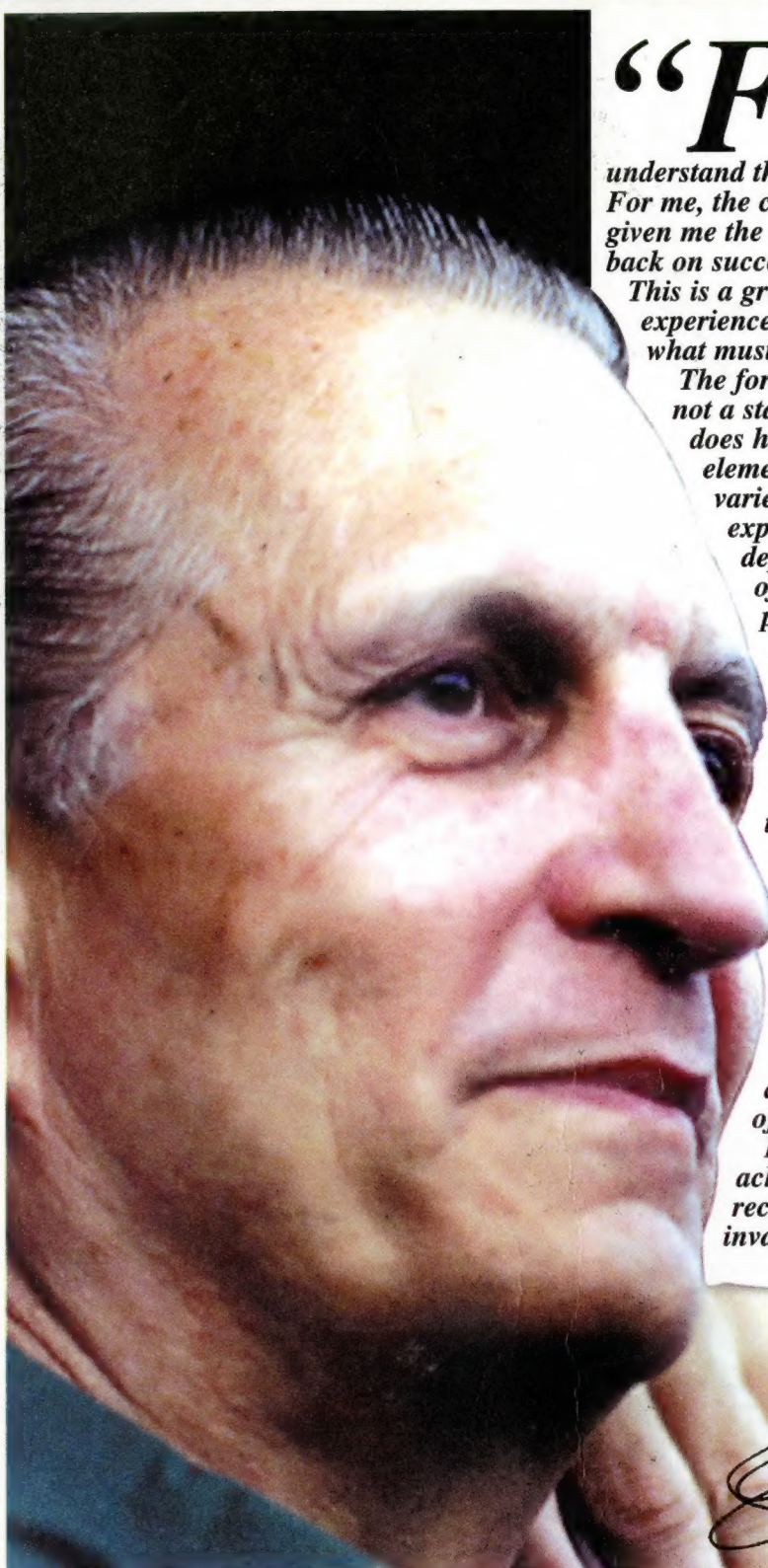


The Formula For Success...

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“FORTY YEARS of public life offer an experience which helps us to

understand the process of change. For me, the changing times have given me the opportunity to look back on successes and failures.

This is a great learning experience, which teaches us what must be done to succeed.

The formula for success is not a standard one but it does have one fixed element, which never varied in my own

experiences. Success depends on your team of helpmates whether public officers, political colleagues, very little can be accomplished alone. I was very fortunate to have had the willing hands and thoughtful minds who helped me to succeed and stood with me in defeat.

Politics is a hard taskmaster and particularly difficult for one's family and friends. I owe both an immeasurable debt of gratitude.”

I share my achievement with them recognizing their invaluable assistance which made the impossible possible. ”

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

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FOREWORD

His Role in Divestment and Diversification of the Jamaican Media

BY WINNIE RISDEN HUNTER, C.D.
(a former Executive Director of the Jamaica Information Service)

No one can deny that during the past decade, the landscape of Jamaica's electronic media has undergone a fundamental transformation. What few people are aware of, is that the blueprint for this dramatic change was laid down by then Prime Minister Edward Seaga in the late 1980s, when his portfolios included Information and Culture.

Mr Seaga's decision to divest and diversify the electronic media was in keeping with a wider policy of privatization, whereby those public entities which could be better managed and better serve the public interest under private ownership, were to be divested. But his policy towards the media was also driven by the conviction that a market economy and an open democracy required an equally open and competitive media environment.

For most of its modern history, Jamaica's electronic media had effectively been dominated by the state. The state not only owned the sole television station and two radio stations (AM & FM) operated by the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation, (JBC) but it also held 25.1% of the only other broadcasting facility, Radio Jamaica (RJR). This was, of course, in addition to the production facilities and broadcasting rights which the state controlled through the Jamaica Information Service (JIS) and the Creative Production and Training Centre (CPTC).

The details of Mr Seaga's media liberalization policy were presented in a Statement to the House of Representatives dated July 22, 1987. It included provision for five radio licenses and three television licenses. Under these arrangements:

- JBC Radio One was to be sold to a licensee who would operate a commercial AM/FM station, with the stipulation that 50% of the shareholding would be offered to the public in due course

- There would be a commercially operated regional broadcasting station

- A license would be issued to operate a non-profit, religious broadcasting radio station, for which all recognized churches would be eligible to apply

- RJR's remaining shares, including the unallocated "A" shares from an earlier partial divestment to civic organizations and trade unions and the 25% owned outright by government were to be divested

A new license to operate commercial televi-

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EDWARD SEAGA... *E408*

His Place and Purpose in the Place He likes to call "Home"

By PROFESSOR REX NETTLEFORD

Vice Chancellor, University of the West Indies

EDWARD PHILIP GEORGE SEAGA, like so many people of substance, has almost from day one of his 40-year political career attracted controversy. And, like many a famous writer, he is not short of "reliable enemies with whom he can pick regular newsworthy fights." For it is the news media which have helped to invest the feistiness and fighting spirit of Edward Seaga with insensitive and even demonic proportions.

Another Dimension - The Scholar

I myself have known another dimension of this public figure who once insisted he was not into 'popularity' but whose public life has contributed in no small or insignificant way to genuinely popular concerns.

On my return in 1959 to UCWI as a Resident Tutor in the Department of Extra Mural Studies, I came upon, via the telephone, a young Harvard graduate named Edward Seaga, who I learnt had decided not to continue his medical studies at the fledgling UCWI. He, however, turned out to be one of the most willing and effective part-time lecturers for the Extra Mural Department. His topic was "revival spirit cults", the form of worship through which many from the mass of the Jamaican population lived and had their being. Other than a handful of scholars like Edward Seaga, few invested it with the seriousness it clearly deserved. The University, with Philip Sherlock as a founding father, and social anthropology lecturer M.G. Smith as a caring student of the people from below, had to take the topic seriously.

Mr Seaga could be called upon at very short notice to travel and lecture within rural Jamaica and fill in, in cases of emergency; and his enthusiasm in being a part of this new experience of Adult Education was clearly the fuel that made him a reliable member of the small Extra Mural



The National Dance Theatre Company performing "Plantation Revelry", 1968. (Photo: Maria Laycona)

staff that was dedicated to education for those persons who were unable to be part of the formal University programme.

Understanding of Jamaican Culture

I was not surprised, then, that on his election to office, he brought to his portfolio a sharpened sense of the importance of Jamaican culture rooted in the creative output of the people from below. He spotted the power of the creative talent of sculptor and painter Mallica Reynolds, better known as "Kapo"; and to his lasting credit he saved for Jamaica that invaluable collection of Kapo's works then owned by Larry Wirth of Stony Hill when it was up for sale to foreign purchasers. The collection remains today in all its majesty in the National Gallery as part of the nation's patrimony.

He also recognized the tremendous potential in the newly emerging music industry, voices like Prince Buster and Desmond Dekker. Through his many contacts with the music industry in North America, put ska and subsequently reggae on the map by opening up important doors and providing the necessary exposure which catapulted Jimmy Cliff and others like them into instant and, in some cases, lasting fame. He shares, then, with Chris Blackwell, Clement Coxone-Dodd, Ken Khouri and Duke Reid an iconic role in the development of the Jamaican popular music/recording industry.

Personal contacts between us were further reinforced at the time of the formation of the National Dance Theatre Company of Jamaica which he

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EDWARD SEAGA... *E408*

Achievements as Minister of Finance in the 1960s and 1980s

For thirteen of his forty years in Parliament, or one third of his parliamentary life, Mr Seaga was in charge of the nation's finances.

Here is how John Jackson-Financial Analyst assesses those years.

For many Jamaicans, and particularly for people of my generation who were just leaving school, the sixties were an exciting period.

We had just achieved Independence. We were caught up in the euphoria of that event, looking forward to a new Jamaica. There was a nationalistic fervour and a lot of things were happening in the country.

Understanding of Need for our own Institutions

What stands out in my mind about Mr. Seaga's contribution to that period of our history was his understanding of the need for us to have our own institutions to respond to our own needs and to help us to define ourselves as a nation. In this respect his record in building the systems and institutions necessary for our emerging economy speaks, I believe, for itself.

It is in this context that we must view one of the most significant policy initiatives he took during the sixties - the Jamaicanisation of our financial sector.

Mr Seaga was Finance Minister from 1967 to 1972. At the time he began his tenure most of our major financial institutions - in particular the commercial banks and insurance companies - were foreign owned. He used moral suasion in dealing with the foreign banks and insurance companies to urge them to divest all or a portion of their equity to Jamaicans. This move was very successful.

This move not only allowed the country to benefit from enhanced access to capital but it also opened the door to the development of an indigenous financial sector, with the formation of companies like Life of Jamaica and Island Life. It led to the

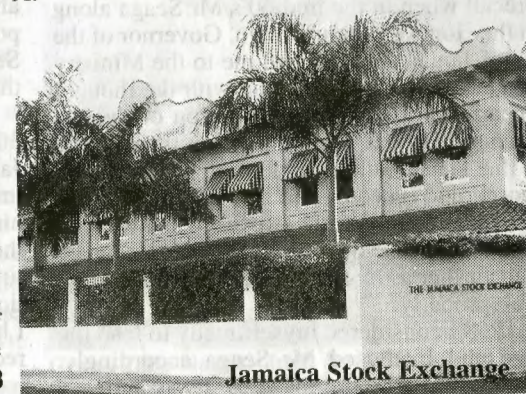
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Jampro



Jamaica Mortgage Bank



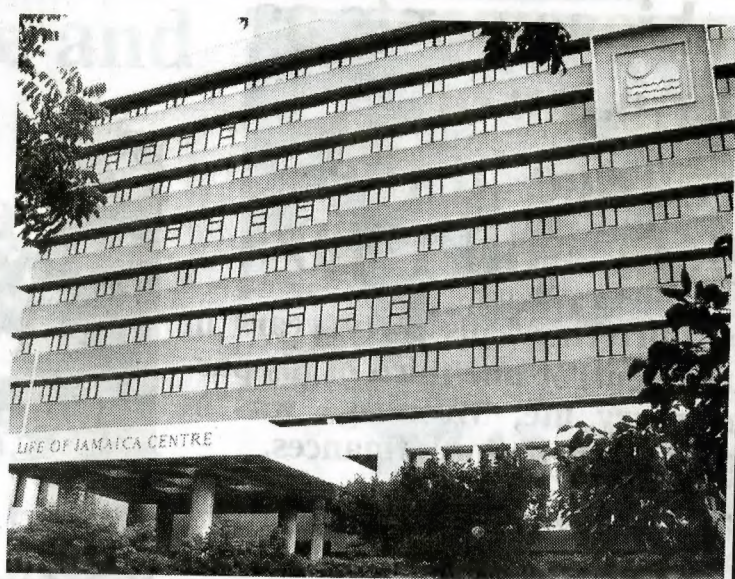
Jamaica Stock Exchange

40 YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA... *E408*

He gave me every support in the founding of Life of Jamaica

A Tribute by
Hon. R. Danny Williams, O.J., C.D., J.P.



The modern Life of Jamaica Centre in New Kingston

AS SOMEONE WHO BELIEVED in and supported the Jamaicanisation of the financial sector in the 60's and 70's, it is a pleasure to commit to paper a small slice of memory of the role that Mr Seaga played in that process.

All of this is set in the framework of that period. The 60's. As I recall most of our financial institutions were foreign owned. We did little for ourselves.

The Canadian Life Insurance Company that I worked for printed even the envelopes in Canada and sent them to us. We did nothing for ourselves. We were simply branch offices for the foreign organisations. During this time Mr Seaga championed the call for us to Jamaicanise our financial institutions.

I recall when in the mid 60's Mr Seaga along with the Hon. G. Arthur Brown, Governor of the Bank of Jamaica summoned me to the Ministry of Finance and challenged me with the thought of spearheading the Jamaicanisation of the life insurance industry. I recall telling them at the time that I shared their passion for what they had proposed and indeed I had been thinking about it. I explained to them, however, that I was not ready to undertake the task. I needed to educate myself further as to what would be needed to do the job properly.

In 1968 I considered myself ready to lead the charge and I advised Mr Seaga accordingly. There and then he promised to give me every

and any support I needed and between that time and June 1970 he lived up to his commitment in every possible way. I can honestly say he made himself available on numerous occasions throughout that time when I had to call upon him for his assistance. He would see me at 7:00 a.m. if that was the only time he had available. He never once was too busy to see me.

The crowning support that he gave me was when he directed the Jamaica Development Bank to give us the underwriting of one half of our public issue when everyone else had turned us down (at home and abroad). We had previously obtained one half of our underwriting from Citizens and Southern Bank of Atlanta, Georgia. The fact is that if we had not obtained this underwriting the company would never have been formed. I can truthfully say that although many people gave me excellent support when forming Life of Jamaica Limited, Mr Seaga's support and commitment was probably the most significant.

As I look back over this period of more than 30 years I know that the action taken to Jamaicanise the financial sector was in the best interest of this country and I hope that when the history books are written it will be projected in the true light of what our conditions were at that time and the enormous benefits the Jamaicanisation of the sector brought to our country at large. I hope too that the role Mr Seaga played will be recognised, for without his effort it may never have happened. ■

EDWARD SEAGA... *E408*

Urban Development and Edward Seaga

BY PATRICK STANIGAR

The City of Kingston was born in 1692, just over 300 years ago. As the population grew, major institutions developed in open lands around it. On the west - the market, on the north - the hospital and Race Track, on the east - the prison and the mental hospital and on all sides - cemeteries. As even more people came, development broke through this ring of institutions and spread out through the countryside, eating up the surrounding "pens" and plantations until it filled the entire Liguanea Plain. This process was largely guided by opportunism, and with some relatively minor exceptions happened without any vision of the public domain.

It is interesting that most of this happened at the same time that the English, our former colonial masters, were leading the world in the development of the planned, beautiful city. It is to our credit, that not long after our Independence, we began planning with at least some idea of the future. Inadequate as it has been, most of the real estate developments since 1960 have included provision of land for public institutions and parks. Likewise, some equally inadequate, "planning" has been applied to the road system and defensive land use policies in the form of zoning plans have grabbed in vain after the shirt tails of runaway redevelopment.

In the 60s, under the leadership of Edward Seaga, we saw the beginnings of proactive urban development. First, the entire country was looked at by a National Physical Plan which set the major strategy for development.

Simultaneously, the Urban Development Corporation was formed as the vehicle for carrying individual developments forward. In Kingston the Port was moved to "New Ports" East and West, freeing the congested waterfront of the original city for the development of a modern downtown



Ocho Rios with cruise ship, "Jubilee" in port and Jamaica Grande Hotel in foreground.



Grand Lido Negril - built by UDC in joint venture with Bloody Bay Hotel Development Co.

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40 YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

40 YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA... *E408*

The Human Employment and Resource Training Programme (HEART)

A Visionary Approach to Skills Training

BY HON. DR. JOYCE ROBINSON, O.J.
Former Executive Director of HEART

Mr Seaga's strength in human development is that he not only conceived ideas and established legislation but he found time to nurture and guide programmes. The development of HEART is an outstanding example of this.

In his budget speech of 1982, Mr Seaga announced the need for a new approach to providing long lasting solutions to some of the urgent problems facing the education system and the increasing unemployment which threatened production and development. He announced that one of the major areas to which his government would pay special attention would be "the problem of the forgotten youth who had left school, and had nowhere else to go."

The action that followed was The Human Employment and Resource Training Act, 1982, which established the HEART Trust. Its purpose was to assist in providing skills training, in upgrading and maintaining training standards and in providing relevant employment opportunities for the youth of Jamaica.

Partnership with the Private Sector

Mr Seaga developed a successful formula for the private sector to provide the financial base for the establishment and maintenance of HEART through a 3% pay-

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Some of the many vocational activities offered at HEART Training Institutes across the island.

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA... *E408*

Forty Years of commitment to cultural development

BY HON DR. OLIVE LEWIN, O.J.

There is no other politician in our history who has brought to national development a more profound understanding of Jamaica's culture and social organization.

Mr Seaga's graduate studies in sociology during the 1950s were on African religious retentions and traditional child-rearing principles and practices among the peasantry of Jamaica. His research uncovered a wealth of music crucial to both areas, bringing him into contact with primary sources versed in this music, as well as supporting lore and belief systems. This sparked Mr Seaga's deep and abiding interest, which remains to this day, in ethno-musicological aspects of Jamaican traditions and heritage. He was the first collection of tape-recorded Jamaican folk and traditional music gleaned by a Jamaican familiar with subtle local nuances and various language styles.

His election in 1962 as the representative in parliament of one of the country's most crowded urban areas allowed him to further cultivate his interest in our folk culture and to put that interest to the service of the Jamaican people. As Minister for Development and Welfare in the sixties, his vision brought to the fore in theoretical as well as practical ways the importance of research into and documentation of the country's cultural traditions and of keeping these traditions alive through the performing arts.

For forty years Edward Seaga has remained faithful to this process, encouraging and providing every facility within his power to promote the study, sharing and performance of Jamaica's traditional music. He has always regarded our music as a vehicle for the social, cultural and human development of Jamaicans both at home and abroad, as a means of gaining understanding of and respect for our small nation and as an agent of peace.

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA... E408

Edward Seaga's role in the establishment of UNESCO's International Fund for the Promotion of Culture

BY HON. HECTOR WYNTER, O.J.

(Mr Wynter was Chairman of UNESCO's Executive Board in 1975 and 1976 and is the only West Indian to have held this office. He is also a former Editor of the Daily Gleaner and Director of Extra Mural Studies at the UWI.)

IN July 1970, Edward Seaga introduced the idea of setting up an international body for the financing of culture (Culture Bank) at the Regional Conference on Culture in the Caribbean. The Conference was taking place at the University of the West Indies under the auspices of UNESCO.

At the opening meeting of the Conference Mr Seaga, who was then Minister of Finance and Planning, noted that there existed no institution in the world capable of furnishing an adequate volume of resources to promote to any significant degree, cultural development and the work of conservation in developing countries.

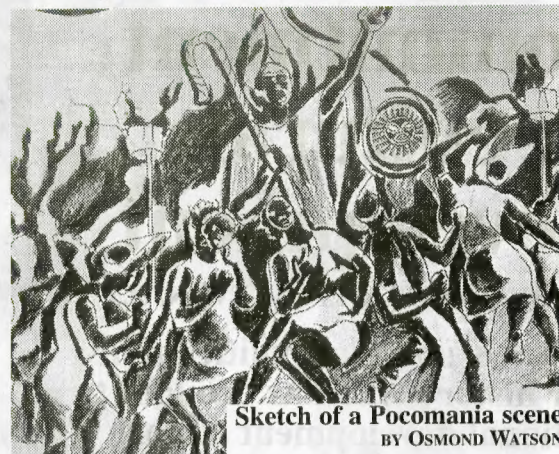
The Kingston Conference subsequently decided to submit a recommendation to the first world conference on cultural policy held in Venice in August-September 1970.

The Venice Conference adopted a Resolution in which it recommended that "UNESCO explore the feasibility of setting up a cultural Development Bank and/or Fund, as a financial agency assisting UNESCO, to be run on lines fairly similar to the international banks."

The ideas voiced at the Venice Conference were further advanced at the 16th General Conference of UNESCO held in Paris in 1970.

Between 1971 and 1974, preparatory work for a cultural bank was under way. In October-November 1972, at the 17th session of the General Conference, a Working Party was established under the chairmanship of Felipe Herrera and Mr Seaga played an important role as adviser.

Finally in October-November



Sketch of a Pocomania scene
BY OSMOND WATSON

1974, at the 18th session of the General Conference, the International Fund for the Promotion of Culture (IFPC) was established. In April 1975, members of the First Council were appointed. Mr Seaga was one of them.

Mr Seaga made good use of the Fund to help Jamaican projects. One of the first things he did was to plead for the establishment of a recording studio in the Jamaica School of Music which forms part of the country's Cultural Training Centre. Because of the importance attached to the creation and dissemination of music in the country's cultural and economic life, the Fund decided to contribute to the fitting-out of a recording studio which was inaugurated by Mr Seaga when he became the Prime Minister of Jamaica in 1980.

This studio, with high quality equipment, made it possible for the School of Music to increase the number of programmes, lectures and workshops it produces, to improve the training of musicians and technicians, and to step up the production of live recordings of both classical and folk music.

Mr Seaga also encouraged the establishment of a cultural data bank in Jamaica. This was eventually established as part of the Cultural Training Centre and is responsible for filming, recording and photographing the country's surviving dances, music and oral traditions.

The National Library has been put in charge of the conservation of these documents, which are made available to educators, researchers, artists and the public.

In April 1979, at the third extraordinary session of the Administrative Council of the IFPC, Mr Seaga pleaded for funds for the sanction of a mobile theatre for rural areas in Jamaica. The amount requested was approved and equipment thus obtained allows the decentralization of artistic activities in rural areas. Other institutions in Jamaica in charge of activities in the fields of education and culture are also associated with the project. ■

EDWARD SEAGA... E408

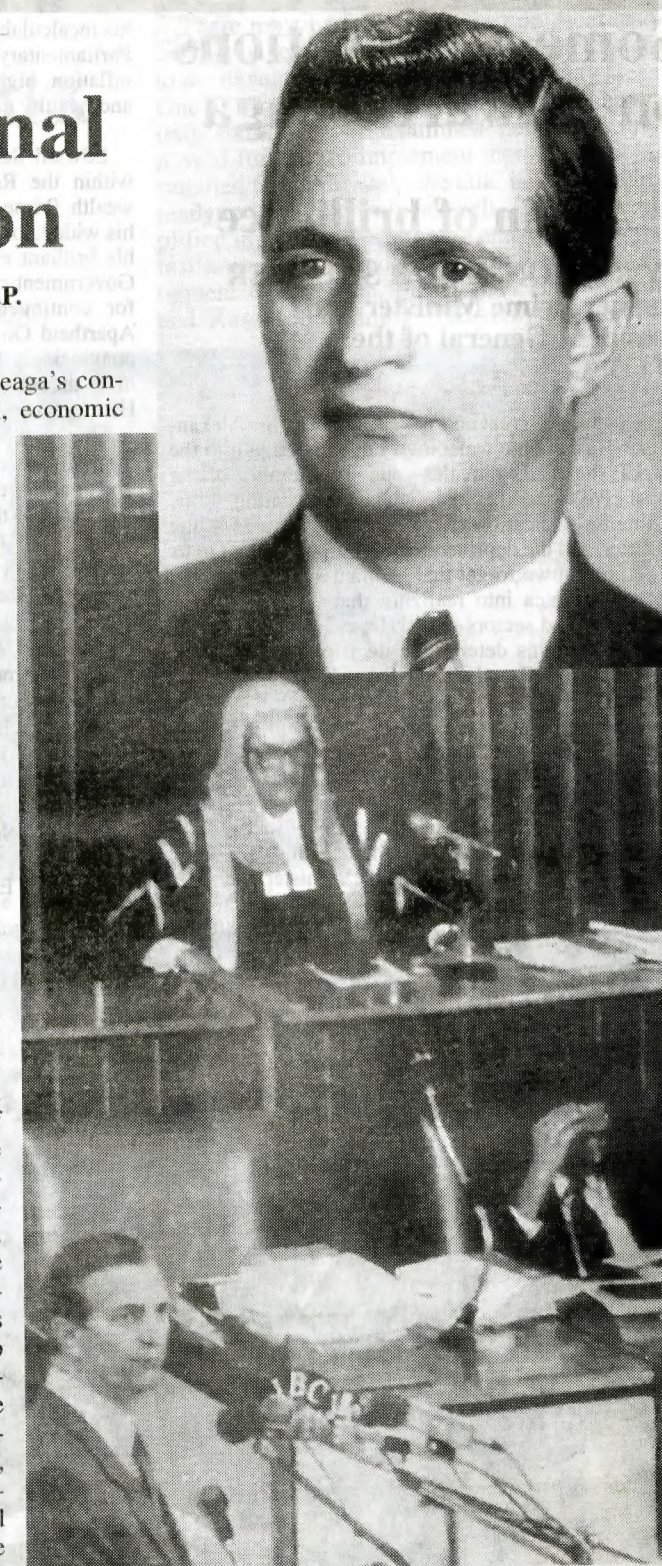
Seaga's constitutional contribution

BY DELROY CHUCK, M.P.
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW

THE rich legacy of Edward Seaga's contribution to Jamaica's social, economic and political life will be further enhanced from his acknowledged input into the development and shaping of our constitutional arrangement. As one of the fathers of the present constitution, Seaga has had the opportunity to see the constitution at work, and has participated in its operation, from its inception. He has confessed that the constitution was meant to govern leaders who would act within the spirit and intent of its provisions and within the conventions of the unwritten constitution of England. It was certainly enacted by and meant for gentlemen and for a kind and gentle people.

Indeed, Seaga's total commitment to constitutional reform and governance within the limits of the constitution can easily be discerned when in 1983-89 his party had all sixty seats in Parliament and could do almost anything, yet Seaga appointed well-known and strong opponents of his policies to the unelected Senate and, without a parliamentary opposition, conducted the affairs of government with dignity, decency and merit.

In the seventies and nineties, the weaknesses of many of our constitutional provisions became evident as the government of the day sought to exercise power in a manner not anticipated by the founding fathers. The Prime Ministers made major and sensitive government appointments, even after strong and vocal opposition. This was simply bad form, and not expected by the framers of the



Rt. Hon Edward Seaga addresses Parliament as Prime Minister. Hon. Alva Ross, Speaker of the House looks on.

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40 YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA... *E408*

Some observations on Edward Seaga

A man of brilliance

BY RT. HON. HUGH SHEARER
Former Prime Minister and
President General of the
BITU

IN 1959, our great and gallant Founder Sir Alexander Bustamante welcomed Edward Seaga into the JLP; he made him the youngest Member of the Legislative Council. Soon Seaga's negotiating skills, his intense dedication to the poor, the homeless, the neglected and the deprived became super-evident to us all. How can we forget that brilliant speech when he shocked Jamaica into realizing that there were two sharply divided sectors - the "Haves" and "the Have-nots". It was his determined decision which we all shared in the JLP, and still do, to reduce the yawning gap between the two Jamaicas, so that they may become one Jamaica with equal opportunity for all, and with adequate protection for the vulnerable, the elderly, the indigent, the children, the sick, the disadvantaged youth and the poor.

During my Prime Ministership in 1967 to 1972, he was a hardworking and far-sighted Ministerial Colleague. He was a brilliant Finance Minister and with

his incalculable assistance and that of my Cabinet and Parliamentary colleagues we left a heritage of low inflation, high economic growth, low unemployment and healthy quality of life.

Edward Seaga is highly respected inside Jamaica, within the Region, and Internationally. Commonwealth Prime Ministers were deeply impressed with his wide knowledge of international affairs, and it was his brilliant expose at the Commonwealth Heads of Government conference in 1986, which won approval for continued and stronger sanctions against the Apartheid Government in South Africa. He showed convincingly that sanctions were working and could bring the racist white minority Government to its heels. History has proved him right.

This man of integrity - acclaimed for this even by his political enemies - has exhibited a tremendous grasp, and breadth of knowledge, and a sympathetic concern for the welfare of the people of his constituency, of Jamaica, the Region and the Commonwealth. The range of financial institutions which he pioneered, the Jamaicanisation of some prominent financial bodies, the innovation of the single Income Tax rate in 1986 - new not only in Jamaica, but the whole Commonwealth - the institution of the Student Loan Fund in 1969, the 100 Village Community Centre Scheme, the Youth camp expansion, the National Heritage Trust Act, the establishment of Things Jamaican, the Devon House Restoration, the Port Royal discoveries, the H.E.A.R.T. Trust, Solidarity, Self-Start - and so many other schemes, which have served Jamaica so well, are but a few examples of Edward Seaga's great contribution. ■



Hugh Shearer being sworn in as Jamaica's third Prime Minister. Conducting the ceremony is then governor-general, Sir Clifford Campbell, while Clem Tavares, EL Allen, Bob Lightbourne, Eddie Seaga and Leopold Lynch look on. This was in 1967.

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA... *E408*

HE NOT ONLY 'TALKED THE TALK, BUT WALKED THE WALK'

BY AMBASSADOR THE HON.
DUDLEY J. THOMPSON, O.J., Q.C.

(Ambassador Dudley Thompson was Mr Seaga's opponent for the West Kingston Constituency in the General Elections of 1962 and 1967. He was a member of the PNP administration of the 1970s and was Minister of National Security from 1978 to 1980).



Eddie Seaga and former two-time opponent Dudley Thompson in discussion at the joint sitting of the Houses of Parliament at Gordon House, held in commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of Adult Suffrage in Nov. 1994

It is impossible to write the history of modern Jamaica without referring to the many contributions made by the Right Honourable Edward Philip George Seaga during the periods stretching from the 60s to the present time. It is unfortunate that the polarized nature of the society in which we have lived in recent years has made objective analysis nearly impossible. He entered national life at a critical period of our infant development and his widespread interest

"...few of our own political leaders that have shown as much energy and thought to the development of Jamaica in many areas..."

in so many fields, (eg: finance, cultural development, urban reconstruction and sport, to mention a few) is bound to have aroused much controversy.

At the time I was actively engaged in party politics and government and in this case was in the very eye of the storm. So I am authorized to speak from personal experience.

There must be few of our own political leaders that have given as much energy and thought to the development of Jamaica in so many areas. One of Mr Seaga's unique features is that he not only introduced or examined new ideas, but moved forward to implement them. Not being satisfied to merely 'talk the talk' he was usually ready to 'walk the walk' as well. This he exemplified in many ways at home and abroad by the institutions he created such as the Urban Development Corporation, the Human Employment and Resource Training (HEART) programme

and others. From my experience he was always thinking, moving ahead. He never came to a meeting unprepared.

I have always been impressed by Mr Seaga's deep and sincere interest in the development and the value of incorporating Jamaican heritage and culture into our national life. His efforts to Jamaicanize areas of the private sector left us such results as the Jamaica Citizen's Bank (now merged into the Unionbank) and an indigenous

insurance industry. His support for the enhancement of our heritage saw such visible results as the return of the remains of the Honourable Marcus Garvey to an honoured place in his homeland.

Easy to Approach

He was easy to approach. One example of this was an occasion in the 60s when I presented the late Hon. G. Arthur Brown, then Gover-

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

A Tribute on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of his service in the Parliament of Jamaica Friday 15th October 1999

BY: SIR JOHN COMPTON
(former Prime Minister of St. Lucia)

No Transient Friendship

In an occupation as hazardous as politics, in an environment in which friendship can be as glittering but transient as soap bubbles, forty years is indeed a long time. It therefore makes my association with Eddie Seaga all the more precious. Our friendship is no 'transient bubble', but one which has matured with time and shared experience.

Shakespeare advises us that "those friends thou hast, and their adoption tried, grapple them to thine heart with hoops of steel." In this manner, our friendship has not only survived the slings and arrows of outrageous political fortunes, but has blossomed, flourished and matured as the years have gone by.

Over the years of public life, I have had the good fortune to cultivate friends across the political divide in Jamaica. Such friendships grew not out of ideology, but out of shared ideals, out of the determination that, having entered public service, to give our best to the people we have been called upon to serve. It is this characteristic that first attracted me to Eddie Seaga.

Jamaica and St. Lucia

The St. Lucia Jamaica association began, however, not at the political level, and began even before Eddie Seaga. It started in the 1950s when St. Lucia, deciding to modernise and diversify its agriculture, turned to Jamaica for assistance, and recruited into its agricultural service a number of young Jamaicans, who, long before the "buzz words" of 'transfer of technology' entered our language, worked in the fields of St. Lucia and assisted in its successful transformation from a sugar plantation-based economy, to a more diversified one with bananas being the leading crop.

So successful were they that by the mid 1960s St. Lucia rivalled Jamaica as the largest banana exporting country in the Commonwealth Caribbean. This success caused a social and economic transformation which transformed our relationship into one of friendly co-operation. It catapulted St. Lucia as the lead

country of what is now known as the O.E.C.S.

Giving Meaning to Caribbean Cooperation

But the Jamaica St. Lucia co-operation did not end there. It expanded into other fields and continues to this day. As we sought further economic diversification, we again looked to Jamaica. The name Matalon is still a household name in certain parts of St. Lucia, where a fetid swamp has been turned into the best marina in the Eastern Caribbean, attracting hotels and other tourism ventures, making St. Lucia one of the lead tourism destinations in the Eastern Caribbean. Our Urban Development Corporation which provides affordable homes to our people, is modelled on your own UDC. And even today Butch Stewart, John Issa, the Sandals Resorts and Air Jamaica demonstrate what Caribbean entrepreneurs can do to ensure that our people scale and retain the commanding heights of our economy, and open the doors of opportunity for others. No wonder people who know both St. Lucia and Jamaica conclude that St. Lucia is a smaller version of Jamaica!

It is this sort of co-operation amongst our people on the social, political and commercial levels which gives meaning to the much talked of Caribbean unity and Caribbean co-operation.

Significance of Grenada

It has been said that the times create the man or woman. This may be so. But individuals, by their foresight and strength of character, do influence the course of history. So it is with Eddie Seaga. It was a fortuitous and fortunate time for the Caribbean in the 1980s, when he came into his own as the Leader of the Jamaica Labour Party and the Prime Minister of Jamaica.

His role in turning back 'the red tide' which was rolling towards the Caribbean in the 1970s and the early 1980s and threatening to draw us into the Cold War conflict, has been misunderstood or misrepresented in some quarters. It was the quick and positive response of Eddie Seaga to the appeal of the O.E.C.S. in October 1983 which reversed events in Grenada, with the Jamaica Defense Force playing a leading role in the Rescue Mission. We can only guess what the status of the Caribbean would have been, had we allowed the Cold War to be fought in the very bosom of our region. Many who criticise our action then, now use it as precedent for intervention in Bosnia,

Kosovo, East Timor, Somalia, and parts of Africa. But we in the Caribbean, ardent practitioners of democracy, acted swiftly to ensure the survival of democracy and to tell the world that there was no place for the Colonels or the Commissars in our region.

Promoting Free and Fair Elections

It was Eddie Seaga, who at the Caricom Conference at Ocho Rios in 1982, introduced into the international political lexicon the maxim, that elections can only be 'Free and Fair, if they are Free from Fear.' Using this declaration, the United Nations and the Commonwealth and the Carter Foundation send observer missions throughout the world to ensure that the results of elections reflect not only the mathemat-



ics, but also the free expression of the will of the people.

To this end I worked with Eddie Seaga both closely and assiduously but with mixed results, to restore democracy to Haiti through the electoral process. Current events in that unfortunate country merely highlight the enormity of the task which we attempted, and the intransigency of the problem. It also demonstrates that the answer to that country's problems must come from within.

In your own way as a Party and its supporters, you have shown your appreciation for the work of Eddie Seaga in Jamaica by giving him not only your political support but your love and affection over these forty years. You are best qualified so to do. But Eddie's achievements go far beyond the shores of Jamaica.

The Flowing of Jamaica Culture

Jamaica's music, Reggae and other musical expressions, would, like the desert flower have been born to blush unseen, had not Eddie as a sociologist,

help to bring them onto the international stage. So too with other cultural manifestations. Art and the arts are the expression of the soul of a nation. They transcend political and cultural barriers and binds people into nationhood. The Flag, the Motto, the Anthem, are but outward and visible signs of nationhood. But as important, are those expressions which spring from the very soul of a people and around which they can rally, with which they can identify regardless of race, politics or religion.

Together with his contributions to politics and Government, these are the intangible contributions by which Eddie Seaga should be remembered. He brought pride to Jamaica and Things Jamaicans, by projecting them on the world stage many times larger than life; permitting Jamaica "to punish many rungs above her weight."

International Vision

Many of his contributions in public life went far beyond Jamaica and the Caribbean. Again before the word "Globalisation" became current, Eddie Seaga saw that the Caribbean would be left behind and if special arrangements for trade and investments were not in place. Out of this grew what became known as Caribbean Basin Initiative and the Miami Conference. Its main vehicle brings together all nations of our hemisphere except Cuba, and includes now the European Community and Japan.

Eddie Seaga looked into the future and realised that in the scientific age, our people will be left behind unless they are equipped with the tools of science and technology. Even before the problems of the inner city attracted the attention of the sociologists, even before "poverty eradication" entered our sociological lexicon, Eddie Seaga realised that poverty can be eradicated not by charity and handouts, but rather by giving the poor thorough, appropriate education an opportunity to join the mainstream of society through gainful employment. Hence the HEART Programme model throughout the developing world.

Through education, work and community organisation he gave pride to the forgotten people of the Ghettos. And this manifests itself in many ways. The Community of TIVOLI GARDENS, created from the slums of West Kingston, is a shining example of what can be done to bring hope to young people and pride to a community. I remember the performance of these young people during the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of your Independence, leading the parade decked out in their smart uniforms. I saw them again in competitive sports and community organisations. These are the outward and visible signs of Eddie Seaga's response to the short and simple annals of the poor.

In his address to Howard University, Washington D.C. on October 8, 1988 Eddie put this most eloquently. It is the rhetoric of performance that speaks loudest to and for the poor.■

FAMILY MAN

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Mr. Seaga with former wife, Mitsy (back right), and Children Andrew, Annabella and Christopher in the 1980's.



The Seaga family with Nelson and Winnie Mandela during their visit to Jamaica in 1992.

Seaga meets celebrities, world leaders



With Cuban President, Fidel Castro, during the latter's visit to Jamaica.



With Canadian Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney.



With former South African President, Nelson Mandela in 1992.



With General Colin Powell, then chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff



With Corretta Scott-King widow of Dr. Martin Luther King at the Enchanted Garden.



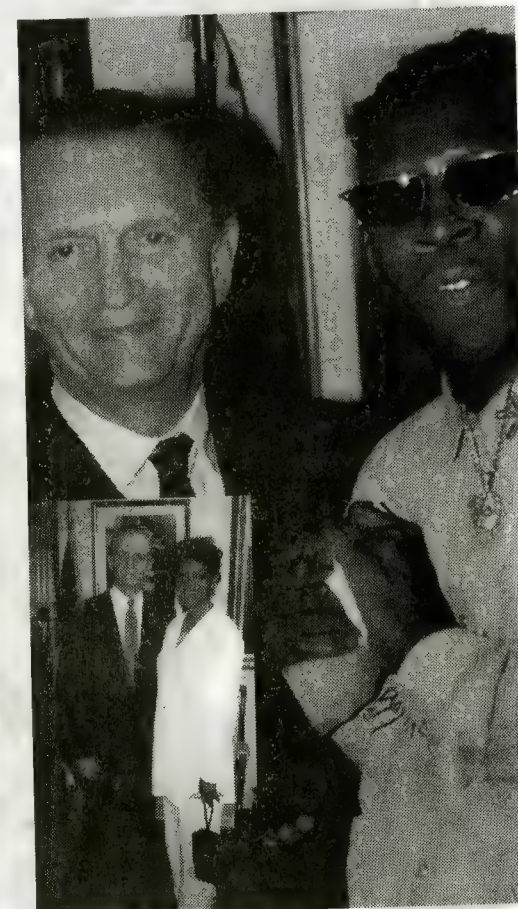
With world renowned opera



With Muhammad Ali and his son Andrew, 1988.



With Rev. Jesse Jackson in the then Prime Minister's study at Jamaica House.



With international dancehall star, Shabba Ranks and (inset) with Dionne Warwick, international recording artiste and performer



With world famous Jamaican singer, Millie Small.

With United States President George Bush and Mrs. Bush.



With political colleagues down Memory Lane, 1966 from left: Acting Prime Minister Donald Sangster, President of Zambia - Kenneth Kaunda and Mrs. Kaunda, then Governor-General Sir Clifford Campbell and Lady Alice Campbell.

EDWARD SEAGA...

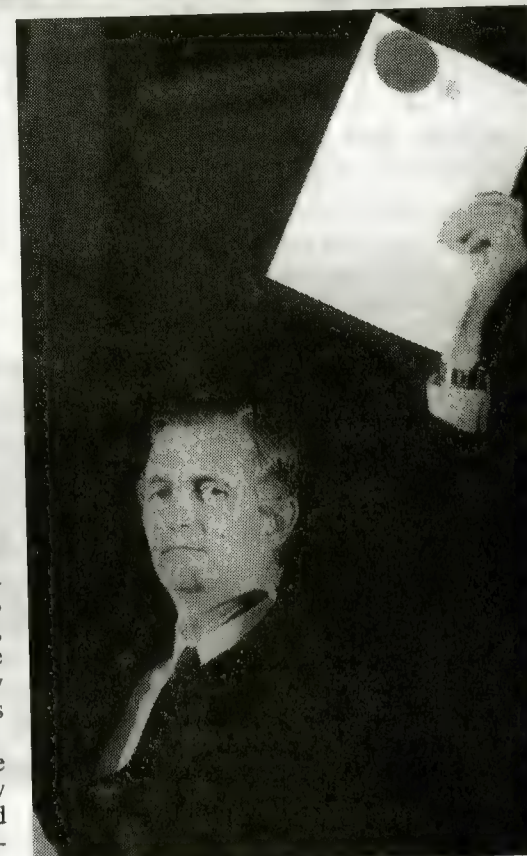
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How he became involved in politics

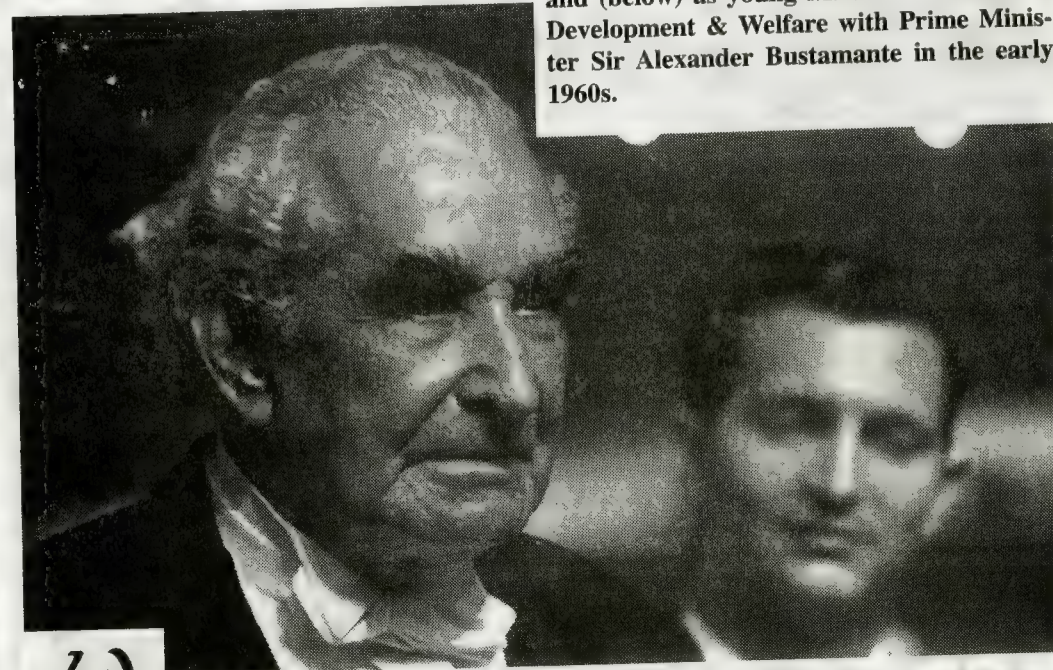
“I really didn’t plan to become involved in politics. What happened was that I started to express opinions on problems in the press and as a result I received calls from political leaders who wanted to meet me. It was at that time, around 1958, that I had formal contact with the Labour Party although when I was a young boy I had always had a predisposition towards this Party.

“I never had any contact with the PNP. The only contact I had was with Mrs. Edna Manley because I was interested in cultural matters and I had contact with her with regards to influencing the PNP government at the time in establishing a museum of indigenous cultural mate-

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Holding aloft his instrument of authority as Prime Minister of Jamaica, November 1980 and (below) as young M.P. and Minister of Development & Welfare with Prime Minister Sir Alexander Bustamante in the early 1960s.



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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA... *E408*

HE NOT ONLY 'TALKED THE TALK...

(Cont'd from Page 13)

nor of the Bank of Jamaica, with a proposal that we should complete a contract which I had been discussing with the Governor of the United States Mint to institute the minting of a special series of proof coins to mark our Independence. Mr Brown suggested that I take up the proposal directly with the Minister of Finance, Mr Seaga. After discussing it with him and introducing the parties, he immediately agreed. This project earned several million dollars for Jamaica.

On another occasion while I was still in the Opposition I brought to his attention that the African-Jamaican Museum founded by the late Dr Aston Taylor was in financial difficulty and likely to fold. Without hesitation he gave them the support needed and saved the museum at the time. His keen interest in Jamaica's heritage and its intrinsic role in the development of our culture did much to introduce a new element in our governance. His ability to work alongside such political opposites as Mrs Edna Manley did much to maintain the continuation of many aspects of Jamaica's indigenous expression in the arts.

Mr Seaga is one of the founding patrons of the National Dance Theatre Company of Jamaica. He had a hands on relationship with many of our popular music pioneers like Duke Reid, Hopeton Lewis, Bob Marley, Byron Lee

and others which has enabled us today to make our mark internationally in music and dance. The Jamaica Festival has found its way into the nooks and crannies of our cities and through the valleys and dales of our countryside.

He has made the question of race irrelevant

"...The fact that Mr. Seaga by his personality and achievements has made the question of race irrelevant to Jamaican politics is itself an achievement in line with our national motto"

The fact that Mr Seaga by his personality and achievements has made the question of race irrelevant to Jamaican politics is itself an achievement in line with our national motto. His constancy in championing the cause of the underdog has been clearly established. This is most evident in the vast improvements created in his own constituency. Therein lies not only one of the reasons for the support he has continued to receive

from the members of his constituency, but also an example to all elected servants of the people of a simple truth: that to live with the people and be of service to them is to earn their love and respect. Mr Seaga is at home with people.

If the institutions left behind are a measure of your success in life, the Right Honourable Edward Philip George Seaga has truly justified his claim to a place of high merit in the annals of our country.

Dudley Thompson



With Lady Bustamante and former Prime Ministers Hugh Shearer and Michael Manley

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA... *E408*

THE POLITICIAN

BY: SENATOR ANTHONY JOHNSON

Since his admission to the Jamaica Labour Party in 1959, Edward Seaga has been a consummate party man. Indeed, he has always counselled newcomers that their loyalty to the party must be paramount, ranking only after loyalty to country and devotion to family.

Edward Seaga has blazed a trail in politics that has set records and introduced new methods in the political system which have become fundamental tools of all political parties. This is remarkable for a man who never took a course in politics or studied systems of Government throughout his University years. Notwithstanding, he has far outstripped all others in his record period of service to Parliament, now 40 years.

His political career began with a record when Sir Alexander Bustamante named him to the then Legislative Council (now Senate) in 1959 at age 29, the youngest member ever appointed to the Council.

From his earliest days as a political represen-

tative, he established that he intend to blaze new trails. His celebrated "Have and Have-nots" speech to the Legislative Council in 1961, propelled him to the top of the political ratings when he was named Political Man of the Year 1961.

After winning his seat in West Kingston in 1962, he went on to win eight successive elections in a seat in which no previous candidate had won twice. All this in a seat considered to be the bitterest test in politics because of the ferment in that area. What proved too hot for others, was cool for him.

The reasons are not hard to find: he puts his constituency and constituents very high on the list of his priorities. He built for them many monuments as a legacy, notably the creation of a whole community, Tivoli gardens, replete with every social and cultural service from "womb to tomb" (Maternity Centre, Golden Age Home). Tivoli Gardens is now the leading

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA... *ES*

The Politician

(Cont'd from Page 23)



Below: Meeting with Party officers (from left): Derrick Smith, Babsy Grange, Ryan Peralto, Percy Broderick and Mike Henry. Above: Having cocktails with Deputy Leader, Audley Shaw and South Trelawny Caretaker Alfred Chen, and (Top) greeting Lady Bustamante at a Party Fete.



HE LOVES AND RESPECTS WOMEN: Seaga shares precious moments with Prudence Kidd-Deans, Merlene Heholt and Rema Galloway.

community in Jamaica in achievements in sports and culture.

But let us not forget the bread and butter of politics. Being a thorough person he wanted to know every constituent. So he introduced in the 1960s, the system of canvassing which is now a standard political tool in all parties. By this system a door to door survey was done to determine the political preference, occupation, age, gender and needs of every adult member of the constituency. This establishes the areas of weaknesses, strength and needs, providing a political blue print for campaign strategy.

Next, he wanted to keep in touch with all points of the constituency, so he introduced, in the 1960s, 2-way radio telecommunication which, again, is now a standard campaign tool for all parties.

The depth of organisation which he considered necessary, impelled him in the 1970s, to cell structure of the JLP around polling divisions for deeper organisation and closer monitoring. This supplemented the branch structure.

At the leadership level, he got the approval of the delegates of the party in the 1980s, to divide the island into four Area Councils, each to be presided over by a Deputy Leader. This delegated leadership responsibilities and made Deputy Leaders specifically accountable for their areas. The move has been popular to party delegates and supporters who feel that they can better related to leadership in this way.

Edward Seaga is not without his shortcomings. Despite being leader of the JLP for 25 years, he has been involved in contentious relations with other party

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EDWARD SEAGA... *ES*

The Politician

(Cont'd from Page 24)

members at leadership and other levels. Some say that it is because his leadership style is too dominant. Others contend that he is impatient with non-performers. Whatever the case, there have been break-aways from the party in two notable instances: the Gang of Five and Western Eleven, both in the 1990s. Some of these branches have been healed, but who is to say whether those who left the party had their own personal agenda which they could not fulfill and decided to pull out.

As Leader of the JLP, Mr. Seaga has a record of wins and losses but he has faced strong reaction for the loss of six elections, one less than Norman Manley. But in his term at the top for over 18 years as Minister and Prime Minister, his record of achievements, in the view of the eminent political analyst, the late Dr. Carl Stone, has not been surpassed. Stone said:

"I don't think there is any other person in the post-war Caribbean who has built and left as monuments for posterity."

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With former Deputy Leader and Jamaica's longest-serving female M.P., Enid Bennett (above) and with Jamaica's youngest M.P., Andrew Holness and Senator James Robertson (below). Bottom: On the campaign trail in St. Elizabeth with the Party's representative, J.C. Hutchinson (extreme left) and three caretakers, Derrick Sangster, Franklin Witter and Basil Perriel at Ys Falls.



40 YEARS OF SERVICE. LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA... *E408*

The Politician

(Cont'd from Page 24)

ty, so many institutions and so many new beginnings and so many ideas in the sphere of public management I have a deep respect for Seaga, unlike most of my colleagues, but he is probably, too far ahead of his time. I think he represents the future. I see as a sort of Caribbean Lee Kwan Yu. I think history will record him as the most significant influence.

In other words, he is a performer in the field, on the platform, at party meetings, in Parliament, in Jamaica House or on the international stage. He beckons you to keep up with him because he is in a hurry. Those who do, find him easy to work with; those who don't, have problems relating to him.

His is the picture of a politician in every sense of the word representative of the people, initiator of policies, creator of projects, bitterly disliked or devotedly loved, but above all, loyal servant of the people.



Above: With (from left): BITU Vice President Ruddy Spencer, East St. Thomas caretaker Dennis Wright, Senator Anthony Johnson and legal advisor George Soutar. Below: With former Chairman, Percy Broderick, Tom Tavares-Finson, Albert Seaga and Cecil Charlton.



The Leader with his 1999-2000 Team of Party Officers - from left: Chris Bovell (Treasurer), Derrick Smith (Deputy Leader - Area Council 1), Janet Mignott (Deputy General Secretary), Shirley Williams (Deputy Treasurer), Arthur Williams, Jr. (Deputy General Secretary), Alfred Chen (Deputy General Secretary), Danville Davidson (Deputy General Secretary), Dorothy Lightbourne (Deputy Chairman), Audley Shaw (Deputy Leader - Area Council 3), Ed Bartlett (Deputy Leader - Area Council 4), Babsy Grange (Deputy Leader - Area Council 2), Ryan Peralto (Chairman) and Dr. Kenneth Baugh (General Secretary).

40 YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

Edward Seaga... His Place and Purpose *E408*

Cont'd from Page 4

encouraged, gave official blessing, and facilitated field-observations into pocomania and zion revivalism by the entire Company. He even showed the dancers a step or two, which those early dancers, with wicked wit, christened the "Seaga Steps". Those steps were indeed done in a distinctively Seagite and memorable fashion. But more importantly, he brought to Jamaican dance-theatre tremendous understanding; and along with Edna Manley, Louise Bennett, Martha Graham and Robert Verity became a Founding Patron of the now internationally acclaimed Jamaican dance-theatre ensemble. He also gave to Olive Lewin and the Jamaican Folk-singers, not only similar patronage, but also his substantial collection of deep-roots music, which he had collected in his formal investigation into Jamaican cults. His vision for the Folk Music Research Unit, later incorporated into the School of Music and still later into the African-Caribbean Institute of Jamaica, remains memorable for its clarity and the farsightedness of the objectives he stated in addition to his own grasp of the process of developing classic Jamaican artistic expressions drawing on the creativity of the folk as a source of energy.

Visionary Institution Builder

His greatest accomplishment, however, may well be his success as an institution-builder. He understood the importance of organization, and he recognized that nothing could have any lasting value if there was no structure within which it could be planted, and allowed to flourish. The Jamaica Festival Commission and National Heritage Week are examples of that vision. His own West Indies Records Ltd (later Dynamic sounds) albeit privately entrepreneurial, was also part of that vision.

He recognized the importance of a new nation having heroes with which the people could identify. It was through his efforts that the body of Marcus Mosiah Garvey was returned to Jamaica, and reinterred in a place of honour in National Heroes Park. He, of course, saw the psychic importance of a National Heroes Park, and was party to the orchestration and establishment of the Order of National Hero, which honour was conferred on both Norman Manley and Sir Alexander Bustamante and, before them, on Marcus Garvey. He understood the sense of history which this move could mean to a nation that had existed in the shadow of British Heroes for all of three centuries; and he was opportunely and strategically placed, as Minister of Development and Culture, at the time the National Anthem was written and dramatic works like "Ballad for a Rebellion" commissioned. This particular work dramatized the

Morant Bay Rebellion making it come alive to a people who knew little of the historical facts. An entire generation of young Jamaicans, schooled in the 60's, grew up with a pride in the achievements of people who looked like them, and who had contributed to the birthing of a new nation.



Bob Marley statue on Arthur Wint Drive. By sculpture Alvin Marriott. Commissioned by Mr. Seaga.

Respect for our Inheritance & History

Contrary to a view commonly held, such efforts were consciously undertaken by Mr Seaga with a genuine respect for the inheritance of that sense of place and purpose bequeathed to his generation by the one that went before carrying the names of leaders like Norman Manley, Alexander Bustamante and Marcus Mosiah Garvey. If the energy of youth which a young Edward Seaga had in abundance seemed at times to "dis" the wisdom of age in much that he did, it

may well have been because of the impatience that the young rightly and characteristically have in pushing history forward. But his own understanding of the limits to all this was clearly demonstrated in his passionate appeal for toler-



Mr. Seaga laying a wreath at the Marcus Garvey Memorial - National Heroes Park.

ance and patience to young Black Power activists at the end of his Budget speech in the late Sixties.

Engagement with the field of culture teaches such wisdom and I have always preferred to appeal to that sense and sensibility of Edward Seaga which has certainly served the teething years of this still groping nation well, and which is likely to number him among the truly significant contributors to the growth and development of a Jamaica which he, like all others of us, still like to call home".

Edward Seaga... and the nation's finance...

Cont'd from Page 5

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emergence of a new class of young Jamaican entrepreneurs and enlarged our sense of our capacity to function with confidence and success in new arenas of corporate leadership.

During that first decade of Independence, Mr. Seaga understood more than perhaps anyone else, the importance of the systems required for the orderly development of the rapidly expanding Jamaican economy. Thus he promoted the Jamaica Stock Exchange which opened its doors in February 1969 - incidentally the first stock exchange in the English speaking Caribbean. This formalized the existing over-the-counter trading in stocks and shares and opened another avenue for financing the 6% annual growth that was making Jamaica one of the fastest growing economies in the world.

It is interesting to note that among the 34 original stocks listed on the Exchange were the Bank of Nova Scotia Jamaica Limited (the first Jamaicanised subsidiary of a foreign bank), and the first Jamaican owned bank - the Jamaica Citizens Bank, which had been formed by a group of leading Jamaican businessmen (names such as Russell Graham, Danny Williams, Eric Abrahams Snr, Douglas Fletcher) and their Atlanta partners, Citizens & Southern in 1968.

The establishment of the Jamaica Unit Trust in 1970 was another development to enable wider participation in the capital market as, on another level, was the introduction of the Jamaica Development Bank to provide a source of capital for ventures that fell outside the credit horizons of commercial banks. The JDB and its successors - (the National Development Bank and the National Investment Bank of Jamaica together with the Agricultural Credit Bank) have financed important projects in, for example, tourism and non-traditional agriculture. While a few of these projects may not have done well, I believe their cost effectiveness, taken as a whole, has been considerably on the plus side.

I also recall the decimalization of our currency, which he presided over in 1969 - a complex exercise carried out without a hitch.

The Eighties

In assessing Mr. Seaga's achievement during the eighties when he was responsible for managing the country's financial affairs for the second time around, as well as being Prime Minister, a number of things stand out. One of them is the comprehensive package of tax reforms he introduced - effectively overhauling the entire tax system.

Perhaps the most fundamental were his reforms of income tax. With an income tax rate that had reached, with surtax charges, as high as 90% in the 1970s, and was at its lowest 57%, taxation had become a serious disincentive to production. Mr. Seaga's tax reform programme lowered both company and individual tax to a flat 33%. He put in train all the planning for the introduction of a General Consumption Tax to replace the multitude of excise and other ad hoc imposts, which made busi-

ness in Jamaica a nightmare of paperwork and counter-productive costs, without benefiting the revenues in any substantial way.

Overall, I think that Mr. Seaga's performance in the eighties has to be regarded as monumental, taking into consideration the state of affairs of the country's finances he confronted when he took office.

At the end of 1980 the country had no money. Private sector arrears at the Bank of Jamaica were in the hundreds of millions of dollars. There was a shortage of goods. People had totally lost confidence in the local currency and money was kept out of the country. Property values had collapsed. The stock market had lost two thirds of its value.

The country had lost one fifth of its gross domestic product with a 21% decline in GDP over eight years. In addition, early in his administration, the country had to cope with a severe international recession and a fall out in the bauxite industry - one of our major sources of for-

eign exchange.

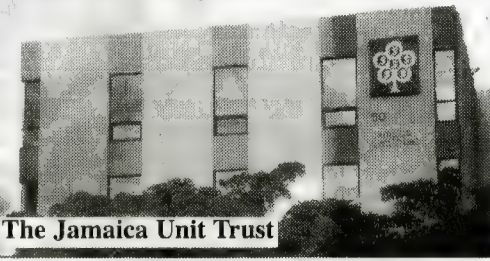
In order to deal with these crises, money was borrowed and there was a substantial increase in external debt. But the results achieved by the stabilization strategies were, by any measure, significant:

- * By 1987 the economy had rebounded with growth so strong that it had to be cooled down
- * The tourist industry was rebuilt with arrivals rapidly expanding
- * Negatives in the major economic indices were reversed
- * The stock market had rebounded and had resumed its role as a vehicle for raising capital. The mass privatization of NCB in 1986 greatly expanded the number of Jamaican investors from 3,000 to 33,000
- * The central bank had begun to tame inflation bringing it down, by the end of the eighties, to single digits and also bringing money supply under control before Hurricane Gilbert hit in 1988.
- * The currency was stabilized
- * The value of real estate assets recovered

In short, by the end of 1988, the fundamentals of the economy were largely on their way to good health and the economy was growing steadily.

To sum up, then, if what you expect of a Minister of Finance is efficient management of the country's resources, policies that result in economic growth and the creation of wealth for the country, protection of the value of the currency and a climate which promotes enterprise, then I would conclude that, as a Minister of Finance, Edward Seaga delivered on all counts.

Whatever mistakes he made, and there were some, were far outweighed by his achievements, not the least of which was to get talented financial managers to interpret his vision and carry out his policies.



The Jamaica Unit Trust

EDWARD SEAGA...

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Career highlights and Significant Dates

- 1959 - Appointed to Legislative Council
- 1961 - "Have and Have Nots" Speech in Legislative Council
- Member of Constitution Commission which drafted the Constitution for independent Jamaica
- 1962 - Elected as Member of Parliament for West Kingston
- Appointed Minister of Development and Welfare
- 1963 - Introduction of Television
- Jamaica Festival introduced
- Things Jamaican established
- Craft development organised
- National Five Year Development Plan launched
- Construction of National Arena
- 1964 - 100 Village Community Development Programme
- Promotion of Jamaican popular music (Ska) abroad
- Golden Age Movement launched
- Return of Marcus Garvey's body
- Order of National Heroes announced
- National Heroes Park established
- Garvey named National Hero
- 1965 - Arawak Museum
- National Volunteers
- Married Mitzie Constantine, Miss Jamaica 1964
- 1966 - Kingston Waterfront Re-Development
- Community sports development launched
- Research and recording of Jamaican Folk Culture programme
- 1967 - Devon House
- Comprehensively planned urban communities (Tivoli Gardens; Hellshire Development; Portmore Town Centre,



- Torrington Park)
- Jamaica Journal publication inaugurated
- Appointed Minister of Finance
- Ocho Rios Waterfront Development (Turtle Beach)

- 1968 - Jamaica Stock Exchange launched
- National Heritage Week inaugurated
- Urban Development Corporation established
- First Jamaican owned commercial bank (JCB)
- 1969 - Jamaica Development Bank launched
- Decimalisation of Jamaican currency accomplished
- Introduction of Merchant banking
- Port Royal Museum established

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40 YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

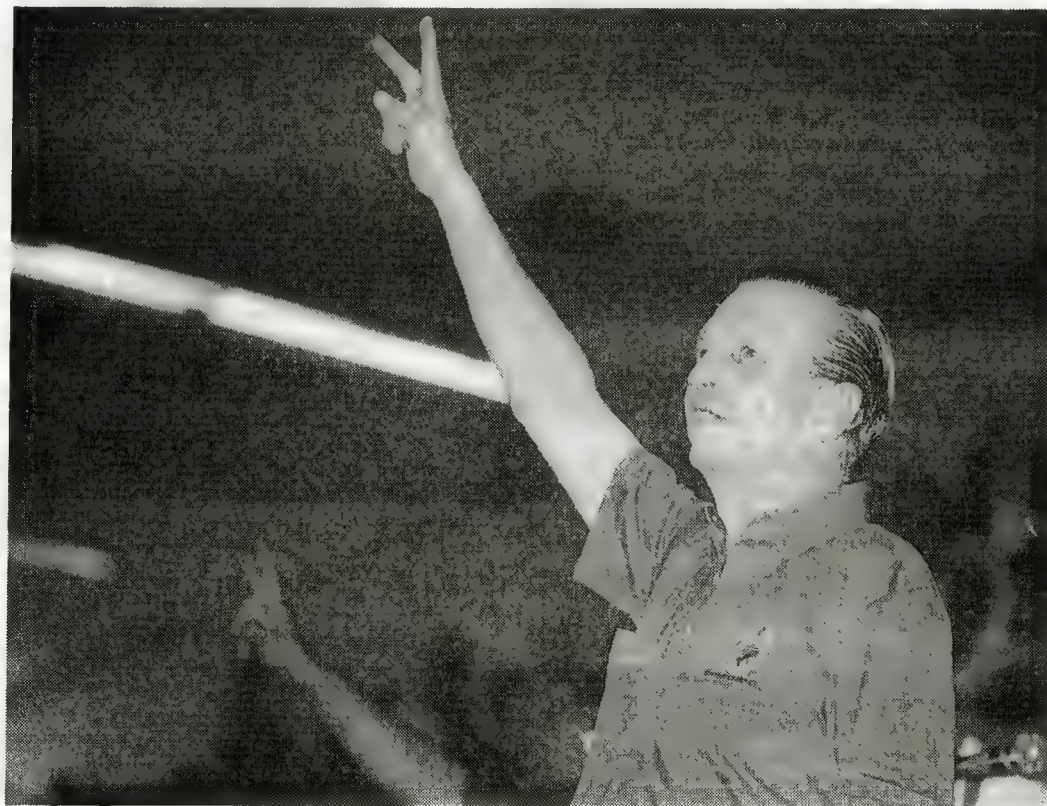
EDWARD SEAGA... *E408*

Career highlights and significant dates

(Con't from Page 29)

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|---|
| 1970 | - Jamaica Unit Trust launched
- Student Revolving Loan Fund established | 1974 | - Appointed Leader of the Opposition
- Institute of Journalism (later CARIMAC) proposed
- Establishment of UNESCO International Fund for the Promotion of Culture |
| 1971 | - Reclamation Montego Bay Waterfront
- 20-year Physical Development Plan
- Cultural Training Centre - designed
- National School Feeding Programme initiated
- Formulation of comprehensive rural township development programme (later CRTDP) | 1979 | - Proposed establishment of Contractor General (established 1986) |
| 1972 | - Jamaica Mortgage Bank launched
- Jamaica Racing Commission & Jockey School | 1980 | - Appointed Prime Minister |
| 1973 | - Establishment of International Fund for the Promotion of Culture (UNESCO) | 1981 | - National Development Bank launched
- Agricultural Credit Bank launched |
| | | 1982 | - HEART incorporated
- Agro 21 launched
- Divestment Programme |

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40 YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

As Prime Minister ... and among friends in the world of leadership



Taking the Oath of Office as Prime Minister at Kings House in November 1980. At right is former Governor General, Sir Florizel Glasspole. Below: Leading his MPs as Prime Minister into Gordon House at the opening of the new Parliament after the Oct. 1980 elections.



As Prime Minister ... and among friends in the world of leadership ...



With His Holiness,
Pope John Paul II at
the Vatican.



With U.S. President Ronald Reagan and
Caricom Leaders.



With Canadian
Prime Minister
Pierre Trudeau
(above) and with
James Mitchell,
Prime Minister of
St. Vincent and The
Grenadines (at
right).



With former British Prime Minister
Margaret Thatcher, at No. 10
Downing Street, London



With Winnie Mandela



Surrounded by members of the foreign press at a ground-breaking ceremony for an Agro 21 project.

EDWARD SEAGA...

E.S.

Career highlights and significant dates

(Con't from Page 30)

- | | | | |
|------|---|------|--|
| | (commenced with lease of Government owned Hotels).
- Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) | | of indirect taxes as the base for GCT. |
| 1983 | - Jamaica Conference Centre
- National Committee of Drug Abuse | 1986 | - Media Commission
- L.E.A.P. (Learning for Earning Activity Programme)
- Export Import Bank
- UNDP - STAS Programme (Manpower Bank)
- Contractor General (proposed in 1979)
- Caribbean Democratic Union
- De-regulation of economy commencing with removal of import licensing and, later price controls
- Institute of Journalism (Later CARIMAC)
- First privatisation of financial institutions - NCB |
| 1984 | - Self-Start Fund | | |
| 1984 | - Food Stamp Programme
- Administrative Reform Programme (ARP) for fundamental Civil Service reforms | | |
| 1985 | - Golden Age Home
- Solidarity Programme
- Metropolitan Parks and Markets (MPM)
- Comprehensive Tax Reform Programme announced; simplification and reduction of income tax from a high of 90% to 33%; tariff reforms to reduce high import duties; consolidation | 1987 | - P.A.C.E. (Programme for Advancement of Early Childhood Education)
- JAMPRO (formerly JNIP established 1981) |

(Turn to Page 36)



Addressing mass crowd at Bustamante Statute, South Parade when he accepted leadership of the Jamaica Labour Party, 1974.

40

YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA... *E40S*

Career highlights and significant dates

(Con't from Page 35)

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| 1988 | - One Million Trees Programme launched | Advocate General (re-named Public Defender) proposed |
| | - Social Well Being Programme launched | |
| | - Negril Development (Bloody Bay) | 1993 |
| | - Digiport established | - Constitutional Reform: Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms proposed |
| | - Residential Halls for UWI and UTECH (EC Programme) | - Elected MP for West Kingston for 9th consecutive term-a record |
| | - Comprehensive development plan of main heritage parks - Port Royal, Spanish Town and Seville | 1994 |
| | - Media divestment programme to establish private television and radio stations and religious television | - Parliamentary Reforms:
* to strengthen the independence of Parliament
* to allow non-Parliamentarians to address Parliament on issues |
| | - Impressive recovery of nation from extensive damage caused by Hurricane Gilbert | 1994 |
| 1989 | - Appointed Leader of the Opposition | - Money Bills tabled in Parliament to regulate monetary policy by law |
| | | - Became the longest serving MP since adult suffrage, exceeding 32 years. |
| 1992 | - Constitutional Reform: | 1996 |
| | | - Married Carla Frances Vendryes |



With U.S. President Ronald Reagan (3rd from right) at Jamaica House during the Island in 1983. At extreme right is the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister Hugh Shearer. Mr. Seaga was the first Head of Government invited to the White House after the President was elected.

40 YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA... *E40S*

The (HEART) programme (Cont'd from Page 8)

roll levy to create a pool of skilled workers. Employers responded spontaneously and joined a lasting partnership with government, which has been very fruitful in enhancing the development of HEART as Jamaica's national training agency.

Benefits to Unemployed Youth

The programme was placed under the office of the Prime Minister and Mr Seaga personally chaired regular meetings which enabled the Board, Managing Director and senior staff to be in constant dialogue about development.

Mr Seaga united the various existing training projects under the HEART standard for an enriched curriculum and quality graduate. With missionary zeal, he led the battle to dispel the prejudice against learning "trades" and the false pride of those parents who felt that only academic placements could bring economic and social success. He launched a campaign to enhance the image of blue collar workers and to widen the horizons of white collar workers.

The HEART slogan "Learn to Earn" originated with Mr Seaga. He helped convince young people that technical training could lead to meaningful jobs, personal growth and economic advancement.

HEART began with two areas of emphasis:

- The School Leavers' Programme to provide on-the job training with firms as well as formal continuing education in designated institutions. The target group was unemployed, literate and certified 17-20 year olds.

- The establishment of special Academies. Skills training institutions were constructed and former youth camp sites were upgraded to provide suitable classrooms and workshops.

The academies were for the use not only of the trainees but to fill the recreational and social needs of the communities within which they were located. Their facilities have been used by local youth and community groups, church and other community based organizations in the seven parishes in which they were located.

Priorities for training were determined by job market demand. The Trust also participated in a National Craft Development Programme aimed at tapping the creative talents of Jamaicans and upgrading local craft production.

The Solidarity

Programme & HEART

The Solidarity Programme was established as a complement to HEART. It was designed to pro-

vide self-employment opportunities in small business operations who, owing to their domestic situation, had fallen between the cracks and could not access any of the HEART training programmes.

The programme used group collaboration and participation plus the goodwill and assistance of sponsors in the communities to manage, guide and assist target groups to attain entrepreneurial skills. HEART conducted special training programmes to give potential operators of Solidarity projects basic training in the principles of small business operations. This helped to make them eligible to access loans from the Self-Start Fund and other lending agencies.

HEART further assisted in monitoring the operators and guiding them to maintain high levels of loan repayments. Projects funded were chiefly in agriculture, handicraft and vending.

Within a period of two years thousands of former hopeless and unemployed adults had successfully obtained loans and become independent earners able to repay their loans and to support their families through the new businesses they operated.

A Record of Accomplishment

To get an idea of the extent of the work of HEART under Mr Seaga's guidance during its first seven years, one only has to look at the following summary:

- 1983: The School Leavers' Programme. On the job training in various areas

- 1984: The School of Cosmetology (St Andrew). Training Beauticians, hair stylists, manicurists & salon managers

- 1984: The Stony Hill Academy for Commercial Skills (St Andrew). Producing secretaries, clerical assistants, book-keepers and accounting clerks; sales and marketing personnel, data entry clerks and computer operators

- 1985: The Portmore Academy for Building Skills (St. Catherine). providing training for carpenters, electrical installers, masons, steel fixers, plumbers, painters.

- 1985: The Garmex Academy for Apparel Industry (Kingston). Producing sewing machine operators, garment constructors, machine embroiderers, 807 factory workers

- 1986: The Runaway Bay Resort Skills Academy (St Ann). Producing receptionists, cooks, waiters, cashier, accounting clerks, bartenders, housekeepers and other skills for the tourist

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40 YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

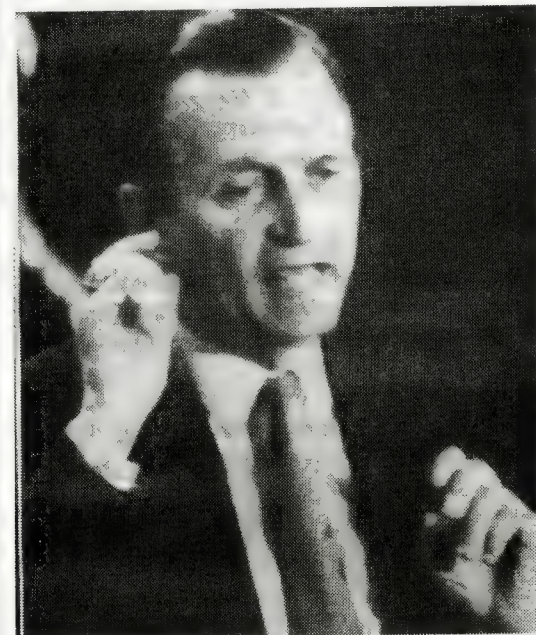
EDWARD SEAGA... *E408*

His Constitutional Contribution

Cont'd from Page 11

constitution. Moreover, Parliament passed laws of doubtful constitutional validity, such as the Suppression of Crime Act. The rights and freedoms of citizens were abridged and abrogated without a proper machinery to provide redress.

It was to Seaga's credit that he called for a Constitutional Commission to review and revise the present Constitution. When the Commission sought to report to Parliament without including a revised bill of rights and freedoms, Seaga and his party refused to sign the first report. The Commission had to regroup to consider the new Charter of Rights and Seaga played a leading role in the final report to Parliament. The new



A persistent and resonant voice in Parliament in the process of nation-building.

Charter of Rights and Freedoms before Parliament can rightly be credited to the bold stand taken by Seaga and his role in ensuring that a modern bill of rights should be available to protect the people of modern Jamaica.

Still, Seaga did more. He called for an Advocate General to act on behalf of aggrieved citizens whose rights and freedoms were breached, and who could not afford legal fees. That is now provided for in an interim act that extended the role of the Parliamentary Ombudsman and hope-

fully will become an integral part of the Constitution, when it is fully revised. His call for a constitutional provision to impeach members of the political and civil bureaucracies for behaviour unbecoming of their office is still to be enacted.

Moreover, Seaga's strong belief that the country's currency should be constitutionally protected shows a deep understanding of political behaviour and the possible manipulation of the economy for political gains. His three money bills have not found favour with the government, and in spite of their merit in protecting the currency, have not been debated in Parliament.

Seaga is a strong supporter of the parliamentary form of government as against the presidential form. He encapsulated his views in several papers and has gone much further by suggesting ways and means to improve the present parliamentary model. It is to his everlasting credit that many of the present parliamentary subcommittees, which have given much dynamism to the parliamentary process, were a result of the strong agitation and resolution in Parliament of Edward Phillip George Seaga, outstanding leader and statesman of post Independence Jamaica.

Seaga and the HEART Programme

Cont'd from Page 37

Industry

• 1986: The Christiana Solidarity Academy (Manchester). Producing small business managers

• 1987: The Ebony Park Agricultural Academy (Clarendon). Producing farmers, farm mechanics, farm and small business managers, irrigation and soil conservation workers

• 1988: The Kenilworth Multi Disciplinary Academy (Hanover). Producing sewing machine operators, data entry clerks, electronic workers, furniture makers, agricultural farm workers.

The graduates of these programmes form a most productive part of the Jamaican workforce today and nearly two decades after it was founded. HEART continues to provide for Jamaica's national training needs.

How he became involved in politics *E408*

Cont'd from Page 21

rial in the city. Presently, a number of such museums have been set up by this government. I never knew any PNP members by name or otherwise until I entered political life.

"In 1959 I was appointed to the Legislative Council by Sir Alexander Bustamante. During the Referendum I requested West Kingston. When the elections were over I was then approached about taking a seat. Up until that time I had not really thought of it as something I wanted to do. However, I was especially influenced to accept by my good friend at the time, the Late Clem Tavares, and I again asked for West Kingston. The Party leadership thought I was crazy. Some of them wanted me to go to West Rural St. Andrew — some nice quiet little place. I must say this, that Sir Alexander backed me from the very beginning on the West Kingston selection. He of course had been a former Member of Par-



Revival table.



Seaga greeting some of his constituents.



Mr. Seaga with members of his team, Daphne Hurge, Desmond McKenzie and Dawn Heron.



A member of the West Kingston family.

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

How he became involved in politics *ES*

Cont'd from Page 39

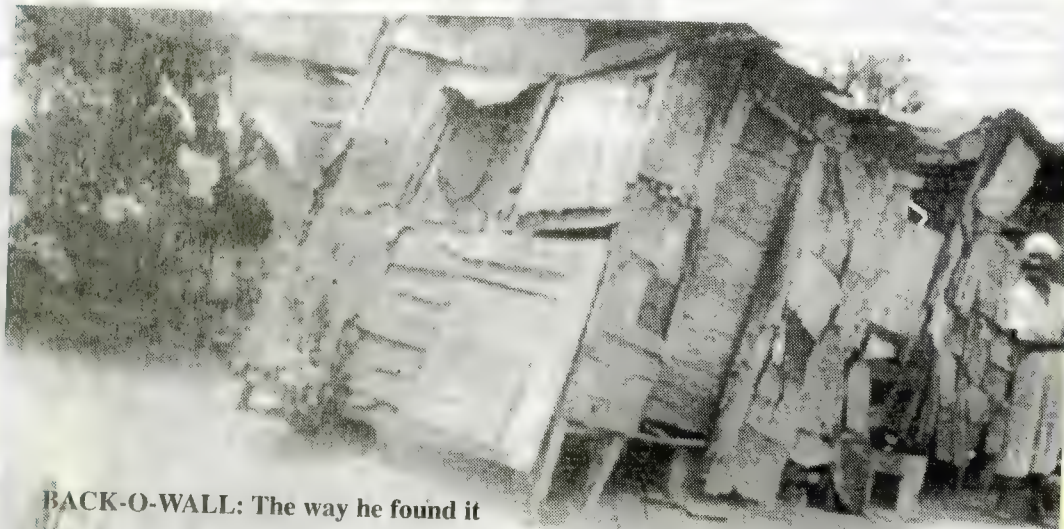
liament here. I wanted West Kingston because I had a lot of previous experience here; I had done considerable research work and when I was a little child I visited my grandfather's business place in the area. However, basically, it was my interest in the people and the area that led me to this particular constituency. I had known people and I had found it an area in need of special attention.

His colour and West Kingston

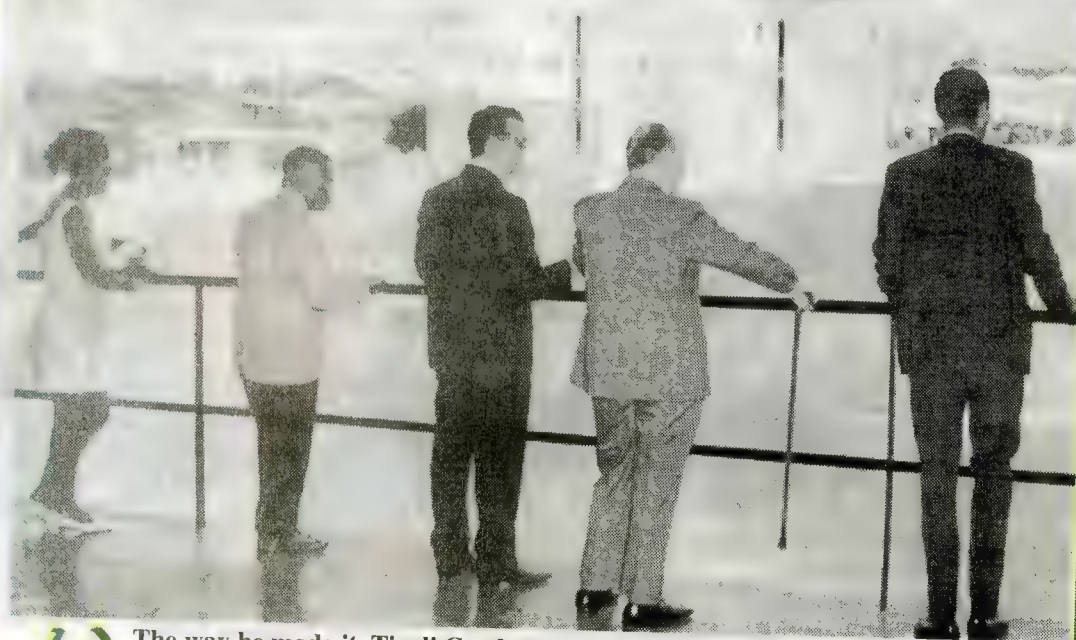
I never faced any serious problems in West Kingston because of my colour. Mind you, everybody else thought I would, but from 1952

when I decided to live alone in a small community of little over 300 people in St. Catherine, I had learnt from these people a motto that I have carried throughout life that if you treat people kindly and with respect they return the same. I have lost my own identity. I had 10 years previously of testing the fact that, providing your identification is a sincere one with the people and the problems, it really doesn't matter what colour you are.

Of course I have my own African roots. My grandfather, George Henry Maxwell was born in Westmoreland. He went to Panama as an engineer when the canal was being constructed."



BACK-O-WALL: The way he found it



The way he made it. Tivoli Gardens

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

Urban Development and Edward Seaga *ES*

Cont'd from Page 7

and creating, off-centre, a port facility which not only serves us for the future, but plays its role as a part of the regional infrastructure. This was the first real change in the structure of our city in almost 300 years.

New growth counterpoints to Kingston and Montego Bay were created out of the rural towns of Ocho Rios and Negril. This attempt to stem rural to urban drift was developed further in the later Comprehensive Rural Townships Project which began in the 1980s.

In that project, the social and physical infrastructure of rural towns were upgraded to decrease the necessity to migrate to the city.

A complementary achievement of that time was the beginning of our attempts to deal with the urban problems associated with the rural-urban migration, which has been a feature of all societies over this century. It is a tribute to Jamaica that, faced with the mass of new urban poor, we have felt that we can and should solve their problem. As parliamentary representative for one of the largest such groups of Jamaicans, Edward Seaga developed for the first time, an urban community which included not only



The National Arena

housing, but the social infrastructure, which would help the people to grow up out of the trap of poverty. A model of integrated development was created in Tivoli Gardens and it remains the base of growth for many Jamaicans and a monument to hope.

At the same time, we dared to look to the future and dream of enough development to see a need for a new sister city, which we began as a totally planned "City Beautiful" at Hellshire. (We had finally brought the best of British town planning here to help us plan for our future.)

Later, in the 1980s we saw a different level of concern. Attention was paid to the development of the quality of the city; the idea that the city

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St. William Grant Park.

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

Edward Seaga...and urban development

Cont'd from Page 41

could and should be beautiful became widely, if obviously not universally, accepted.

Unknown to much of Jamaica, at the very heart of Kingston, a redevelopment of the entire market area into a humane and efficient centre of commerce was started. (The unfinished carcasses of the main markets stand today as a bitter "monument to lost hope.")

On an architectural level, the promise of the Kingston waterfront was re-stated by the construction of the Jamaica Conference Centre. From an urban design point of view this project created a new square on Little Port Royal Street, roadside landscaping on Port Royal Street and gave a focus to Nethersole Place. It attempted to fill the gap in development between the Bank of Jamaica and King Street and to therefore realize the original pedestrian-oriented aim of the Waterfront Plan.

The Victoria Park, which had deteriorated into The Victoria- JQS Bus Park was redeveloped and the buses moved from its centre, which was thereby freed for the enjoyment of us citizens. Shortly after, the squares at Half Way Tree (Mandela Park) and Papine were similarly redeveloped and a new urban park was created



Jamaica Conference Centre

on Trafalgar Road between Ruthven and Holborn Roads, (a first by an independent Jamaica).

The matter of general beautification with the landscaping of main roads and a programme to develop and maintain the many derelict lots of "public open space" which had been sprinkled around our residential areas. This attitude extended from the creation of the beautiful public amenity at Devon House to the re-fering of Fern Gully. Unfortunately, most of this was greeted by controversy as our provincial mentality was dragged, kicking and screaming, toward urbanism. Even Kingston's caterpillars fought back by attacking the red cannas which were planted everywhere.

These developments were led by Edward Seaga in service to Jamaica. Although to different degrees, we have others to thank, he can claim the credit of vision and leadership for a proactive approach to planning and development in Jamaica generally and Kingston in particular. Those of us who love our city appreciate his determination to make it a humane and constructive environment for living for all of the people - somewhere befitting the pride and love which we have for our country and ourselves.



Sam Sharpe Square, Montego Bay

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

Forty Years of commitment to cultural development

Cont'd from Page 9

Mr Seaga's contributions to the development of our cultural institutions are many. They include:

* The introduction in 1963 of the annual Jamaica Festival of Arts. Emphasis was placed on encouraging traditional specialists and groups to enlighten the nation about little-known music and dance practices, as well as belief systems and folk ceremonies.

* Sponsorship of youth groups seeking to create a popular music style rooted in their own culture. This coincided with Independence in 1962, and in the birth of Ska, from which evolved Rock Steady and Reggae, and the development of local recording studios.

* Appointment of a Jamaica Folk Music Research Officer, at the Jamaica School of Music. Mr Seaga's gift to the school of his own field tapes formed the basis of the school's audio-visual library, which was later enriched by field documentation and research. The library has been a source of inspiration for many projects in schools, churches, theatres and tourism.

* Sharing information and cultural expressions, mainly music and dance, regionally and internationally through the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., the Commonwealth Institute in London, the Edinburgh Festival, and Carifesta, (the Caribbean Arts and Culture Festival).

* Monitoring and nurturing grassroots cultural and spiritual leaders and experts in the African, African-European or African-Oriental retentions that underlie on-going practices and special events. These people are now fast disappearing through death, poverty and disability, as well as the effects of urbanization and the intrusion of the mass communications media.

* Promoting and sponsoring links between traditional and contemporary groups and individuals through institutions such as the Jamaica Memory Bank, which was established with the help of private individuals in 1981, later copied by other Caribbean countries, and extended to Jamaicans in the U.K., USA and Canada.



Tivoli Dancers performing at Festival

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA...

EXTRACTS FROM A TRIBUTE TO EDWARD SEAGA GIVEN BY THE LATE PROFESSOR CARL STONE ON MAY 2, 1992

(The late Dr Carl Stone was a distinguished member of the Social Science Faculty of the University of the West Indies, and Jamaica's best known political pollster.)

In 1962, a young man barely in his thirties offered himself for political office in what was then the most turbulent and difficult constituency in the country, West Kingston. In the 1959 elections the PNP had won this seat.

The constituency had a reputation for being a graveyard for big names in politics. Some had run there and had to seek refuge elsewhere to avoid certain defeat. Neither of the parties was ever able to win victories there on a consistent basis.

Edward Seaga with that bold challenge in 1962 began a yet unbroken period in representative politics representing the same West Kingston constituency he won in 1962.

In 1962 Eddie ran against none other than Dudley Thompson, a formidable grass roots politician. West Kingston then was the centre of Rastafarianism and black militancy. No one gave Seaga, who was seen as a white man, much of a chance against Dudley who campaigned in African robes, projected himself as a defender of Jomo Kenyatta and even appropriated Kenyatta's title of Burning Spear.

Seaga won in a close contest that surprised everyone. He got 51.6% of the votes to Dudley's 45.56% but by 1967 he had consolidated his position with a comfortable 68.5% share of the vote as West Kingston ceased being a marginal swing seat to becoming a safe JLP seat under Seaga's management.

My first memory of Seaga goes back to Spanish Town Road when I saw this little man teaching from a political platform, and talking to the people about national economy policy, with the rapt attention of the crowd. Seaga was raising the level of public awareness by refusing to talk down to the people.

Eddie Seaga is not an easy leader to assess because his contribution ranges over so wide an area.

An Unmatched Track Record

I don't think that there is any other national leader in the post war Caribbean who has built and left as monuments for posterity so many institutions and so many new beginnings and so many new ideas in the sphere of public management. The list is awesome and formidable:

FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS: The JDB,

the Jamaica Mortgage Bank, the Agriculture Credit Bank and the Jamaica Unit Trust.

The URBAN DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION: That agency responsible for infra-structural development island wide.

HEART - which provided skill training for school leavers and drop-outs.

SOLIDARITY AND THE SELF-START FUND were created by him to open doors for the youth to start up small businesses.

CULTURE: The Jamaica Festival, the National Heroes Award, National Heritage Week, Devon House, the cultural Training Centre, the Jamaica Journal of the Institute of Jamaica, and the repatriation of Marcus Garvey's remains to Jamaica were all conceived and developed by Edward Seaga.

WELFARE: The food stamp programme to assist mothers the indigent and elderly at a time of painful structural adjustments was his idea.

INVESTMENT PROMOTION: JNIP the country's first investment promotion agency was his creation.

REGIONALISM: Seaga spearheaded the creation of the region's first political union formed by political parties of similar persuasion, THE CARIBBEAN DEMOCRATIC UNION.

EXPORT LED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT - Seaga's role in promoting the CBI is well documented reflecting his commitment to the idea of export driven economic growth for Jamaica and the Caribbean region at a time when the region had run out of ideas on how we could best adjust to the new globalized market economy.

PUBLIC SANITATION: MPM was also his brainchild, an institution that made a quantum leap towards beautification, public parks, and proper sanitation services that transformed the dirt and grime of Kingston into something pleasing to the eye.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: Seaga turned the worst slum in this city, a slum we used to know as BACK-O-WALL into the

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA...

A tribute by Professor Carl Stone

Cont'd from Page 24

TIVOLI GARDENS community we see there today with a secondary school, cultural facilities, opportunities for young people, sporting activities, and an enviable track record in the spheres of sports and culture.

And we could go on and on.

No other politician in this region can match that track record of institution building and policy achievement. It is therefore not surprising that some of us resent him because he has done and achieved as much in a society where leaders spend most of their time making speeches and spouting rhetoric.

The press has never liked him. When he angrily spoke to issues concerning income inequality in Jamaica in his early political career the pro-PNP press accused him of being a communist. Today, that same press views him as being a conservative working for investors and big capital without appreciating the fact that without business confidence, without infusions of investment capital and without a strong and confident business climate, no economic development can take place in this country of ours.

He Does Not Tolerate Corruption

Outside of West Kingston, Mr Seaga is more respected and feared than loved because in government he is a hard taskmaster. He does not suffer fools. He does not tolerate corruption. No Mr Big Man can buy him. He demands hard work and high level performance from civil servants and insists on high standards of excellence. He sets the example himself by hard work, constant application and detailed monitoring of policy developments. He is a man with a pre-occupation with details in his effort to ensure that the country is well managed.

Leaders come in different moulds and leadership styles. There are the visionaries who hold our attention with promises to deliver a new heaven and a new earth but who invariably get lost in their own vision and are paralyzed by their inability to change anything beyond the domain of rhetoric.

Then there are the populists who echo the dissatisfactions of the people and ride on their discontent, promising solutions that they can't deliver. Their agenda is to pressure the society to respond to the people's discontent but they usually lack a deep grasp of how to put realistic solutions together. Unlike the socialist intellectual visionaries, the populists are not purveyors

of ideas or builders of grand solutions.

Leadership that gets the job done

Then there is the third kind of leadership. It has no rhetoric to inspire. No grand intellectual vision to mesmerize and no populist anger to charge up the people. It works from problems back to solutions and concentrates on getting things done. Given time it has the potential to transform society. It is essentially managerialist in its approach to leadership. It is short on popularity but tall on policy achievements and policy results.

In this mould is cast Lee Kuan Yew in Singapore, Margaret Thatcher in Britain, the controversial President Fujimori in Peru and Eddie Seaga here in Jamaica. We don't fall in love with them, we just know that they will get the job done.

Tribute to Mr Seaga By Mr Carl Stone

EXTRACT FROM A TRIBUTE BY DR. KENNETH KAUNDA:

"This morning I had my last dental treatment by a young Jamaican by the name of Dr. Smith. Before this final session I told the young man that I had great love and respect for you as a leading economist not in theory but in practice."

"I have listened to you, Edward, contribute to the discussions at our Summits. Each time you have left me impressed & very much impressed indeed. Your contribution on sanctions against South Africa was simply superb. I thank you for that too. I also want to thank you for your speech to the Jamaicans and their friends at a reception held in your honour here in Vancouver. It was cool, calm, calculating and objective. (I saw it on a video provided by Dr. Smith while he was giving me treatment). Jamaica should be proud to have you as its Prime Minister (and I am sure it is equally proud to have young men of Dr. Smith's calibre)."

Till we meet, God's blessings."

Kenneth D. Kaunda
President of the Republic of Zambia

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA...

E408

POLITICAL MAN OF THE YEAR, 1961

The following, written by former political editor of The Gleaner, Ulric Simmonds, was published in the Sunday Gleaner of December 31, 1961

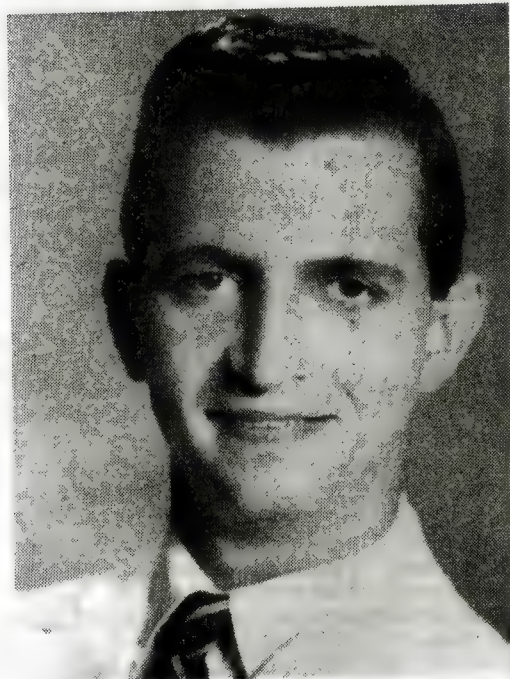
It is customary at the end of every year for this column to name a Political Man or Woman of the Year that is the person, who in the opinion of this column, has done more to influence the trends and developments of Jamaican politics for good or bad over the past twelve months.

It is customary also that neither of Jamaica's two political giants is named, for both Mr Manley and Sir Alexander Bustamante stand head and shoulders above their colleagues in politics so much so that they would run away with the nomination every year.

This year was no exception to this rule. Sir Alexander Bustamante was undoubtedly the most dominant political factor this year by reason of his performance in the Referendum. But it is natural that this should be so. He is in the position to dominate it and create the position where this island is now poised to jump off into formal independence.

But apart from the two leaders there are other politicians who have influenced the political scene and two spring readily to mind. They are Mr Millard Johnson, who has formed the People's Political Party, and the Hon. Edward Seaga, the Assistant Secretary of the Jamaica Labour Party. Both have loomed large on the island's political scene in differing ways, Mr Johnson in a negative way, through fear, Mr Seaga in a positive way through his work with the Party. Mr Seaga's pre-eminence, therefore could be due to circumstances he belongs to an already established party and is therefore in a position to influence the course of political life, while Mr Johnson belongs to no already established political party and does not at this writing appear to be in a position to influence voting trends in Jamaica in any but a negative and perhaps irritating way.

For these reasons therefore, I unhesitatingly select Mr Seaga as 1961's Political Man of the Year.



Seaga's claim

What are Mr Seaga's claims to distinction? In the first place, Mr Seaga has played a more significant role in revitalizing the Jamaica Labour Party than any other single member of that Party. It is no secret that the new forward-looking and almost left-wing policies of the JLP (indeed they are indistinguishable from the PNP's) has been due to his influence on the JLP executive and as Chairman of the party's Policy Planning Committee. He has given a positive bent to the JLP policy where before it was vague and non-committal.

That is the first basic contribution Mr Seaga made to the political shape of things in Jamaica in 1961.

The second was the work he did during the Referendum campaign. With Mr Clement Tavares of South-Western St Andrew, he was one of Sir Alexander Bustamante's principal lieutenants, and the JLP's organization and campaign during

Edward Seaga Political Man of the Year

Sunday Gleaner, Dec 31, 1961
It is customary at the end of every year for this column to name a Political Man or Woman of the Year... that is the person who, in the opinion of this column, has done more to influence the trends and developments of Jamaican politics — for good or bad — over the past twelve months.

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA...

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and the West Kingston constituency ... a 40-Year Love Affair



SEAGA AND HIS WEST KINGSTON PROTEGÉS: (from left) Charmaine Anderson (Personal Secretary), Daphne Hurge (Business Administrator), Babsy Grange (Member of Parliament), Dawn Heron (Community Sports Officer), Desmond McKenzie (KSAC Councillor) and Hyacinth Campbell (Cultural Officer).



Another protégé, Councillor Lorna Leslie at his annual distribution of treat to the children in his constituency.

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

Edward Seaga ... & the West



(1) ONE LOVE: Jamaica's only fully digital recording studio, is officially opened by Senator Maxine Henry-Wilson who converses with studio manager at the Tivoli Gardens Community Centre.



(2) Dudley Linton head of the Senior Citizens Movement in West Kingston sings "Brother Eddie Is Our Leader".



(3) Dora Hanna receives a gift from Babsy Grange at West Kingston Constituency Conference, Ward Theatre in the 1960s. Looking on are MP Seaga and Prime Minister Sir Alexander Bustamante.



(4) Nomination Day in West Kingston.

Kingston Constituency



EDWARD SEAGA...

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Inside the vision of Edward Seaga

BY DR. DAVID PANTON

Every political party and indeed, virtually every elected politician in Jamaica, can be labelled a populist, one who makes a political philosophy of always doing the popular things that appeal to the mass of voters even if in conflict with the wider interest. But not all our politicians fall into this category.

Now and then that mould is broken and someone emerges who will implement policies which consistently put national interest before popular demand. Edward Seaga built a reputation on putting the national interest first. This driving will to set a course and maintain it, even if unpopular, enabled him to become a principal architect of new directions in public policy.

The first such initiative was his drive to Jamaicanize valuable areas of our national life. Traditional Jamaican culture and heritage were promoted. They reinforced the need for our own forms of cultural expression and connection with our historical roots in the shaping of a national identity.

Many Jamaicans who knew little of their historical and cultural background felt a sense of belonging with pride. A new Jamaican emerged in those early years after Independence in 1962 who was more Jamaican than before because of exposure to Edward Seaga's policies of cultural Jamaicanisation.

In the same decade after independence, the same concept of Jamaicanisation swept the financial establishment which was largely foreign owned and controlled. In Mr. Seaga's view, it was time to start building a Jamaican financial sector. He quickly convinced the insurance companies and banks which were entirely foreign owned that a wind of change was blowing which would make partnership of local and foreign interests a more enduring future relationship.

It was not long before all the foreign owned insurance companies were locally owned and the banking sector transformed itself into jointly owned Jamaican enterprises. On this base, many other fully owned Jamaica financial institutions and services were added. A whole Jamaicanised financial sector was born.

These were not popular moves in the beginning. Old colonial preferences for things foreign in cultural taste and foreign directed financial institutions, made the new policies appear to be dangerous new directions. Eventually, because the new policies worked and opened new vistas and opportunities, they became popular. Both the national interest and popular will were served.

Another dimension of change initiated by Edward Seaga dominated his public policy concerns of the 1970s.

Democratisation in its broadest sense opening the doors to free choice and upholding values of freedom - was a passion which became his theme of the 1970s. He fought against the closed society of socialist dogma which was very popular at the time, based, as it was, on the concept of a dominant state which was to generously provide for the needs of the people.

To push against the popular will of the people, reinforced by the dogmatic and militant leadership of the time, was an uphill battle.

Preaching that freedom worked best in the creation

of a prosperous society was not an effective alternative to the promises that better was coming in jobs, money and welfare. Eventually, the heavy hand of state control which stifled initiative and production, proved the point. The national interest of maintaining a free and open society eventually proved more popular than the closed, restricted society in which shortages were prevalent and conflicts erupted in the fight for scarce benefits.

Consistent with the opening of the society to create a climate for encouraging initiative, Mr. Seaga's theme for the 1980s was to push the country ahead one further step: promoting competition to ensure the most cost-effective means of production. This he knew was a key to prosperity.

He introduced the programme of liberalisation of the economy by privatisation of government owned assets and deregulation of the strictures which made competition difficult. Some of the policy moves to implement the promotion of competition, were against popular thinking.

Privatisation of government owned interests broadened the base of ownership. The number of people owning shares on the stock exchange grew from 3,000 to 33,000 with the privatisation of the National Commercial Bank and grew to 40,000 when government shares in the Caribbean Cement Company were later privatised.

Space does not permit more detailed reference to privatisation of the media, hotels and businesses all of which put productive entities in more productive hands.

He removed the network of price controls which stifled competition. It was expected to result in the immediate increase of prices which would be highly unpopular. Critics forecasted this. They were wrong because his second move reinforced his first initiative.

He proceeded to remove most of the restrictions governing imports. The increase in supply of imported goods kept prices low because competition was fierce.

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DISCUSSING PARTY STRATEGIES: Seaga with Ryan Peralto, Abe Dabdoub, Ed Bartlett and Mike Henry.

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA...

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PROFILE

The Rt. Hon. Edward Seaga, PC, MP Leader of the Opposition



The Right Honourable Edward Philip George Seaga, P.C., M.P., B.A., LL.D. (Hon.) Leader of the Opposition since 1989, was born on May 28, 1930 to the late Philip George Seaga and Erna (nee Maxwell). He was educated at Wolmer's Boys' School in Jamaica and graduated from Harvard University in 1952 with a Bachelor of Arts Degree in the Social Sciences.

Political Career

Mr. Seaga's political career began in 1959 when Sir Alexander Bustamante, the founder of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), nominated him to serve in the Upper House of the Jamaica Legislature (which later became the Senate). His appointment at age 29 made him the youngest architect of the Constitution, which established the framework for national independence in August 1962.

In April 1962 Mr. Seaga was elected Member of Parliament for Western Kingston and he has held that seat for 35 consecutive years. He is the only person who has been re-elected as Member of Parliament for that constituency for more than one term and is the longest serving Member of Parliament in the history of Jamaica.

Immediately after winning his seat in 1962, Mr. Seaga was appointed to the

Cabinet as Minister of Development and Welfare. Following the 1967 General Elections he was made Minister of Finance and Planning and in 1974 he became Leader of the JLP and the Parliamentary Opposition until the 1980 General Elections.

Edward P.G. Seaga became Prime Minister of Jamaica following the General Elections of October 30, 1980 when the Jamaica Labour Party won a landslide victory over the incumbent Peoples' National Party (PNP). The man-

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FIRST SWEARING-IN: Young Edward Seaga (6th from left) is sworn in with colleagues (left-right) Donald Sangster, Bob Lightbourne, J. P. Gyles, Edwin Allen, D. C. Tavares, Herbie Eldemire, Hugh Shearer and Ken Jones, at Kings House in 1962.

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

Seaga's Profile...

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date of Mr. Seaga and the Jamaica Labour Party was renewed in the uncontested 1983 General Elections. He remained Prime Minister until February 1989.

Mr. Seaga was also Minister of Finance and Planning, and his portfolio included responsibilities for Information and Culture.

Several economic and social programmes, which have had significant impact on Jamaica's growth and development, were conceived and initiated by Mr. Seaga.

Contribution to National Development

Financial Development

Mr. Seaga has established, encouraged, promoted or introduced several institutions, which have contributed to the modernization and development of the financial sector. These include the Jamaica Stock Exchange (1969), Jamaica Unit Trust (1970), Jamaica Mortgage Bank (1973), National Development Bank (1981), the Agricultural Credit Bank (1981), the Ex-Im Bank (1986), and the Students' Loan Bureau.

He promoted the modernization of commercial agriculture by introducing agricultural high technology and stimulating the spirit of commercial enterprise in agriculture. He put unused and under-used publicly-owned lands to work. The highly successful Jamaica National Investment Promotion Ltd (JNIP now JAMPRO) was created by him in 1981 as a one-stop investment organisation to promote local and overseas investment in Jamaica.

Under his administration, in the 1980's the Income and Corporate Tax system was comprehensively reformed to make it more modern, equitable and efficient. The rate was substantially reduced to a flat 33 per cent for both individuals and corporate entities. Mr. Seaga also introduced modern computerized technology into the administration and organisation of revenue collection in which each taxpayer would be assigned a Taxpayer Registration Number. He overhauled the indirect tax system by combining a number of taxes into



With Donald Sangster and constituents of West Kingston.

a single General Consumption Tax (GCT).

As Minister of Finance, Mr. Seaga represented Jamaica as a governor of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the Caribbean Development Bank.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Urban and Rural Development and the Environment

In the 1960's Mr. Seaga transformed the country's then worst slum - "Back-o-Wall" - into a modern, low-income residential community, renamed Tivoli Gardens. Tivoli Gardens has a full range of cultural and social amenities for all age groups, and remains a model of successful urban community development.

Mr. Seaga established the Urban Development Corporation (UDC) in 1968. Through the UDC the waterfronts of Kingston, Ocho Rios and Montego Bay have been developed into major resort, residential, port and office complexes. Among other accomplishments, the UDC has spearheaded the development of Negril as a resort area. Notably two-thirds of the available land for development was acquired by the UDC at Mr. Seaga's initiative. This has formed the basis for planned development.

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Seaga's Profile...

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Perhaps the largest of all urban development projects will be the 30,000 acre Hellshire Area on the outskirts of the over-populated capital city. Mr. Seaga initiated the purchase of this prized area, together with nearby Caymanas lands, for the creation of a new city, through the UDC.

In 1985, Mr. Seaga established the Metropolitan Parks and Markets (MPM) as a subsidiary of the UDC to be responsible for public cleansing, beautification and the maintenance of the parks and markets in the city of Kingston and other specified urban areas. MPM has literally transformed this aspect of city management by delivering an effective and cost-efficient service.

HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Seaga's most satisfying area of creative endeavour has been the creation of several outstanding social programmes especially for young people. Among them are: the Human Employment and Resource Training Programme (HEART), which began in 1983 and provides job-related training for school leavers and drop-outs on a wide scale throughout Jamaica. This has had a most positive impact on the expansion of skills and job capabilities of young people.

In 1985, he launched Solidarity, a programme to finance and stimulate entrepreneurship among young people by giving them loans and guidance in establishing their own micro-businesses.

Food Aid Programme

The Food Aid Programme was established by Mr. Seaga in 1983 to assist the poorest groups in the society by supplementing their food supply. The most significant beneficiaries under this programme are primary school children, who receive a high protein lunch daily. In addition, pregnant and nursing mothers, children under three, the indigent, dis-



THE MAN FOR THE HAVE NOTS: Seaga at a meeting in West Kingston in 1962.

abled and elderly receive food stamps to assist them to improve dietary needs.

Golden Age Homes

Golden Age Homes, a new concept in modern community care for the aged, was launched by Mr. Seaga in the 1960's and expanded in the 1980s, with the construction of modern, planned homes for the aged.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Seaga has often said that his first love is Culture, and his monumental achievements in this field stand as a testament to this.

He created and established the Jamaica Festival, (in which institutions, groups and individuals compete annually in the literary, performing,

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

Seaga's Profile...

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plastic and graphic arts, as well as culinary skills, leading up to the Independence celebrations). He also introduced National Heritage Week. The Jamaican Festival has become the showcase of Jamaican talent and the cradle of our traditional cultural expressions.

In the 1960's while he was Minister of Development and Welfare, Mr. Seaga gave Jamaican popular music (Ska) its first exposure to the international scene by promoting overseas tours of Jamaican artistes. This laid the foundations for the international emergence of Reggae, now popular worldwide. He established a craft development company - Things Jamaican - in 1961 to nurture the development of Jamaica's handicraft, made Devon House a national monument to showcase our heritage and completed plans for the re-development of Port Royal, Seville and Spanish Town as historical monuments of international significance.

He conceived and designed the Cultural Training Centre for all the Arts (drama, music, painting/sculpture and dance), donated his own extensive collection of folk music of Jamaica to the School of Music.

Mr. Seaga influenced the careers of several internationally acclaimed Jamaican popular artistes and played a major role in introducing the work of the world-famous Jamaican intuitive artist Mallica 'Kapo' Reynolds.

He also inaugurated the respected Jamaica Journal, published quarterly by the Institute of Jamaica, which is devoted to promoting the arts, natural history, sociology and science through publications.

Mr. Seaga played a principal part in the return of the body of Marcus Garvey to Jamaica and in establishing the nation's highest order, that of National Hero, of which Garvey was the first recipient.

INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES

Mr. Seaga promoted the concept of an international "culture bank" leading to the establishment of the International Fund for the Promotion of Culture (IFPC) by UNESCO in the 1970's.

In the 1980's, he played a leading role in the establishment of the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) conceived as a "Marshall Plan" for the Caribbean and promoted the concept of a Human Resource Facility (or "Manpower



The Tivoli Gardens award winning drum corps.

Bank"), later adopted by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as the Short Term Advisory Service (STAS) to provide low-cost short-term expertise from the international private sector for developing countries.

He has also been in the forefront of the international campaign to intensify and expand economic sanctions against South Africa as a means of bringing apartheid to an end. Mr. Seaga addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1985 and made his memorable call for an intensified attack on the South African rank. And in October 1987, at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Vancouver, he demonstrated statically that sanctions were working against South Africa.

Honours and Awards

In 1981 Mr. Seaga was appointed by Queen Elizabeth II as a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council.

Mr. Seaga has also been honoured by several countries:

- Republic of Venezuela - Grand Collar de Libertador (1981)
- Republic of Venezuela - Gold Mercury International Award (1981)

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Seaga's Profile...

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- Republic of Korea - Grand Gwangwa Medal, Order of Diplomatic Service Merit (1981)
- Federal Republic of Germany - Grand Cross of the Order of Merit (1982)
- Mexico - Order of the Aztec Eagle (1987)

He is the recipient of several prestigious international awards:

- * Gleaner Honour Awards: Man of the Year, 1980, 1981
- * Avenue of the Americas Association, N.Y. - Gold Key Award (1981)
- * Pan American Development Foundation Inter-American Man of the Year Development Award (1983)
- * Dr. Martin Luther King Humanitarian Award (1984)
- * United Nations Environment Programme - the Environmental Leadership Award (1987)

Honorary Degrees

- * University of Miami, LL.D. (1981)
- * Tampa University, LL.D. (1982)
- * University of South Carolina, LL.D. (1983)
- * Boston University, LL.D. (1983)
- * Hartford University, LL.D. (1987)

Publications

"Parent Teacher Relationship", published by the Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.

ty of the West Indies.

"Revival Spirit Cults" (Jamaica Journal), published by the Institute of Jamaica. Folk Music of Jamaica (album of music recorded by Ethnic Folkways Library).

Personal

Mr. Seaga was born in the Evangeline Boothe Memorial Salvation Army Hospital in Boston while his parents were travelling in the U.S.A. He was also a Jamaican citizen by virtue of his parentage, but he made the momentous decision in his life to formally give up his American citizenship.

On August 22, 1965 he married Marie Elizabeth "Mitsy" Constantine, Miss Jamaica 1965. They have two sons, Christopher, Andrew, and a daughter Anabella. This marriage dissolved in 1995 and the following year, June 14, 1996 he married Carla Frances Vendryes, M.P.A.

He plays tennis, hunts and collects Jamaican folk music.

A keen gardener and amateur landscaper, Mr. Seaga has translated his love for plants and flowers into the beautiful Enchanted Garden Resort, which has become a unique attraction in Jamaica.

He is a member of the Kingston Cricket Club, various hunting clubs and the Jamaica Skeet Club.

His Role in Divestment...

(Cont'd from Page 3)

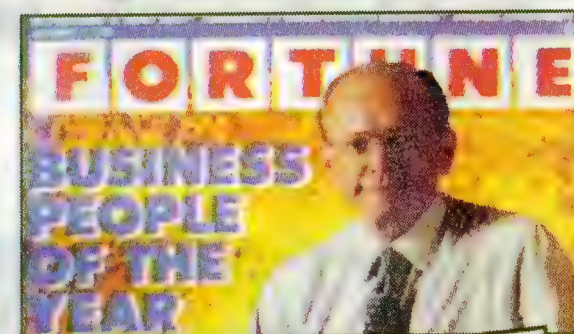
sion was to be issued. Fifty percent was to be held by corporate entities and 50% divested to the public at a later date.

- A license would be awarded for the operation of a religious TV station.

- JBC Television and JBC Radio One were to form, together with the JIS and the CPTC, the components of a Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), which would feature programmes in culture, education, sports and information. As a first step towards this goal, JIS underwent a comprehensive modernization and upgrading programme.

- In order to ensure that ownership of the electronic media was broadly based, it was stipulated that no single entity or connected entities were to be permitted to own more than 10% of the privatized commercial radio and television stations.

This policy framework, with some modifications, was eventually adopted by the succeeding administration. It formed the basis for the entrance of five new radio stations eg. KLAS, IRIE, HOT 102, POWER 106 and LOVE - the first three of which evolved from JBC's regional radio divisions n Radio Central, Radio North East and Radio West. The new stations have made Jamaican radio one of the most vibrant and exciting areas of national life since the nineties, broadening and deepening opportunities for discourse and communication. It has also brought competition and new voices to Jamaican television through the emergence of another commercial television station - CVM TV - a religious television station (LOVE TV) and the metamorphosis of JBC into TVJ.



FORTUNE MAGAZINE'S MAN-OF-THE-YEAR: Prime Minister Edward Seaga named Man-of-the-Year 1980 by Fortune Magazine, in recognition of 'those who made a difference'.

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

... ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL



EDWARD SEAGA...

EAS

Inside the vision...

(Cont'd from Page 50)

It also forced local manufacturers to restructure their plants to produce cheaper or different goods which could compete with imports.

Finally, he completely over-hauled the tax system, simplifying and reducing tax levels across the board, to encourage incentive to work and produce.

This was the beginning of the era of a true private enterprise, market led economy. It differed from the 1960s version of a private enterprise driven economy by the removal of import barriers to foster true competition rather than the high tariffs of the earlier period designed to make imports scarce and expensive in protection of the local market.

This new model proved itself by the high growth, low inflation economy in the last half of the 1980s, the same results which were being enjoyed by the highly successful economies emerging in the far east.

The national interest lay in the open, enterprising society, not in the popular concept of a protective system with the state widely providing welfare benefits.

One other task absorbed him: this time it was not a battle to change the popular will. In the 1990s, Mr. Seaga campaigned on a popular note in championing human rights reforms to limit the power of government. He continued an earlier quest to reduce the power of government, and, in particular, the Prime Minister, in the exercise of politically directed decisions in critically balanced areas of national life.

This exercise began in the late 1970s when the electoral system was removed from ministerial control. Several other critical areas of governance have been stripped of direct ministerial control, with more to come, using the formula of appointments to sensitive national boards being made by the Governor-General on a non-political basis, instead of by the head of the political directorate, the Prime Minister.

A new dimension of the curtailment of government power emerged in his call for monetary policy to be removed from ministerial direction. It should be subjected to a pre-determined formula enacted into law, he argued. This would remove instability from one of the most critical areas of economic policy which has the power to make or break an economy.

In the Charter of Rights, conceived by Mr. Seaga as a simple and brief expression of the constitutional rights of the people, he struck the strongest blow for limiting governmental power and enhancing individual freedom. The new charter of fundamental rights and freedoms, as passed by the constitution reform committee, broadened the number of rights and freedoms which the people reserved for themselves and effectively reduced the conditions under which government may temporarily suspend these rights.

Unfortunately, the struggle to preserve these rights in the effective form approved by the constitutional reform committee, is not yet over as a watered down version, sponsored by government, is now before Parliament. The struggles continues.

Is there a unifying thread linking all these fundamental policy directions and reforms? I think there is.

The Jamaicanisation programme of the 1960s,

enhanced identity of the individual in national terms. The freedom of an open society which was the central theme of the 1970s, preserved for the individual the right of free choice. The liberalisation programme of the 1980s gave the individual maximum opportunities to use choices of initiative and creativity, in a competitive environment of opportunities, to produce for reward. The reduced role of government which emerged in earlier years came to ahead in the 1990s, to ensure that the real balance of power in the society rested with the individual, not the state.

It is the individual then which is the centre price of the political vision of Edward Seaga, not the state, as championed by socialist doctrine. This underlying principle and the policies and reforms which have flowed from it, have undoubtedly played a prominent role in shaping independent Jamaica in a constructive frame and leading the country in a positive direction.

But what was to be done to improve the life of the individual? After all, the goal of every politician is to improve the standard of living of the people.

It was in his last address to the annual conference of the JLP in November, 1999, that Mr. Seaga really opened the window of his mind. He told the country that he started 40 years ago with a fundamental decision to pursue a life of public service which would enable him to fight poverty, ignorance and injustice. He felt this need, he said, from the years of living in poor communities and working with the under privileged.

That career was launched on the principles set out in his I have & have not speech in 1961, in which he outlined his model for pulling up the poor, not pulling down the wealthy, as he has said many times. It was a model of equal opportunity for individuals.

He proceeded to fight these three scourges by building more institutions and launching more far-reaching policies than any other Caribbean leader, as Professor Carl Stone tells us.

With these initiatives he gave the country 11 years of economic growth in his 13 years at the helm as finance minister. He lifted those who fell by the way side, the poor and vulnerable, with the nationwide food stamp programme and Golden Age homes for shelter, all to reduce poverty.

Education to fight ignorance was a top priority. Mr. Seaga backed up the formal education system with H.E.A.R.T. for those who fell short in their academic careers; P.A.C.E. to foster early childhood education; textbooks, food and nutrition programmes to create lifelines to learning.

We need not travel the path of support for human rights and fight injustice. We said that earlier.

In November, he said that his mission was not finished because of the stop-and-start mode of development which has been the pattern evolving with the changes of government since independence. This, he said, should be a continuing mission.

Those who will carry the mantle of the JLP for years to come will accept the challenge of this mission as the next logical steps forward from the base laid down by the founder Sir Alexander Bustamante.

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA... *EAS*

ANOTHER FACE Edward Seaga as Poet

Extract from "RIVER MAID, RIVER MAID"

BY EDWARD SEAGA

The poem relates the possession experiences of a River Maid, one of the principal functionaries of Pocomania Revival; under possession she confronts and deals with hostile water spirits who impede the spiritual journey of possessed brethren through a river, her spiritual territory.

The ritual dance of the River Maid is performed against the heavy rhythmic breathing, guttural groaning, singing and chanting (cymbaling) of possessed brethren.

The poem, written in the 1950s, was first published in 1969 in Jamaica Journal, Vol. 3, No. 2

Call me name oh! Mother Nation,
Alarm oh! sound de alarm!
Mo'nin' Shepherd 'Bendigo,
Peace-an' Love! Salaam!
Sound dat music Cymbal Myriam,
Mek me hear yu blow:
"Mo'nin', River Mother,
Me tell yu Mo'nin', oh!"

Young gal stan' up in de corner
Don't know her Spirit near
Tu'n an' face me river daughter!
Is yu Spirit name yu hear.
Point her to me Spirit Pointer,
She out to shy de blow,
An' ah come to mek her labour in
De stream wid de cleansing flow.

"River Maid! River Maid!",
Hear de Warnin' Dove ah scream:
"Lawd-me-God-ah-whey-she-deh,
Destruction-in-de-stream."
Mek haste daughter, brethren call yu,
Evil spirits bar de way;
Dem call for yu to read de water
For de message: move or stay.

New dress and hat won't save yu
From roll an' wash a groun';
Forget yu clothes an' ban yu belly,
Wrap yu head an' don yu gown.
Drink a little 'daru', child,
Fe rinse away de cold;
River Maid! Don' hide yu face
When yu spirit yu behold.

Ah! Now ah see yu foot a stumble,
Stamp it! For is dere ah strike;
Down to groun' ah watch yu tumble
Yu eyes dem shut, yu head upright.
A bearer shout: "She gone, she cut'-way!
De Maiden drop! She get lick down!
Move dere people, don' crowd de body,
Spirit is a t'ing dat roll 'pon groun'."

Roll! Roll! Regardless, daughter,



Is me an' yu in motion now;
Come! Raise yusef! Assist her Bearer!
R-R-R-Rock yu body groan an' blow;
Jump in de line wide Revival children,
Don' labour wid a toss,
Raise me tune now, hundred voices:
"One More River to Cross."

To de rockin' of de body
To de bowin' of de head
To de rhythm of de groanin'
De livin' dancin' wid de de'd.
Two hundred voices in upliftment,
Raise de music loud an' 'strong,
Fifty brethren groanin', bowin',
To de rhythm of de song.

"Uh-HUH Uh-HUH"
Hear de mighty groanin' now,
Together as a single groan,
Together in de bow.
"Uh-HUH Uh-HUH"
Hear de rhythm of de band,
De voice of Pocomania journeyin'
In de spirit Land.

Every traveller wid a spirit
In de Pocomania band,
Every one to guide de brethren
In de portion day command:
Shepherd follow Journeyman;
Engineer in front;
Centre Wheelin' Compass Man;
Hunter to de hunt.

Through de City of Destruction,
To de Desert of Despair,
Across de mountain of Corruption,
Into Vanity Fair;

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40 YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA... *EAS*

POLITICAL MAN OF THE YEAR, 1961 (Cont'd from Page 46)

ing that period largely turned upon his efforts. He key-noted the whole of that campaign as the principal economic spokesman for the JLP and probably campaigned throughout the island more thoroughly than any other member of the JLP to gain the desired result.

Furor over 'Haves & Have Nots' Speech

But it is not for these things only that Mr Seaga made his impact on the political scene this year. There was the furor created over his proposition about the 'Haves' and 'Have-Nots'.

No previous Budget Session of the Jamaica Legislature approached the controversial excitement of the past Budget Session and his statements and propositions about this still controversial subject not all Jamaicans are sure who is right underlined in part the decision of the Government to depart from traditional Budget making this year even though Government spokesmen insisted that Mr Seaga had misinterpreted the economic facts of life in Jamaica.

Mr Seaga forced not only his own party but the PNP as well to pay more attention to fundamentals of political economics, the Government's expert planners to examine the relevant factors and the legislators to ponder, to think and to explain. In this particular he brought a new life to Budget discussions in Jamaica which had nothing to do with the traditional bridge here, the school there, the road in that constituency or the money provided for the Jamaica Agricultural Society and its 'use' or 'misuse' by officers of the society.

Mr Seaga is relatively new on the political scene and many people do not know who he is. At present he is the youngest member of the Legislative Council, indeed the youngest member of the island's legislature. He is 31. A Bachelor of Arts graduate of Harvard University in Social Science, Mr Seaga was born in Boston. He has been connected with the University College at Mona, as an undergrad studying medicine with

the aim of later doing psychiatry, as a research worker in sociology and anthropology and in Jamaican cults and folklore, and as a lecturer in the Extra-mural Department.

Perhaps this mixture of Boston and Harvard and of his in-the-field research among pocomanians, rastafarian and simple village folk, has shaped Mr Seaga's particular role in politics. My own view is that this mixture the puritanism of Boston and Harvard, and the naked primitive facts of Jamaican village life has tended to give Mr Seaga an almost stern, biblical mien, harsh and unbending about his own prejudices and beliefs, which does not stop to consider that the other man may well be right. But this is a trait that can take a politician very far. At least one other politician in Jamaica has it and he has gone far.

It was in 1959 that Mr Seaga joined the Jamaica Labour Party and was appointed a member of the Legislative Council. The following year he was elected Assistant Secretary of the JLP, and this year he was appointed Chairman of the party's Policy Committee.

Although he is still a member of the Legislative Council, where he is one of the outstanding members, Mr Seaga wants to get into the stream of active grassroots politics. He will campaign as a candidate for the JLP in West Kingston during the forthcoming elections, (replacing the Hon. Hugh Shearer).



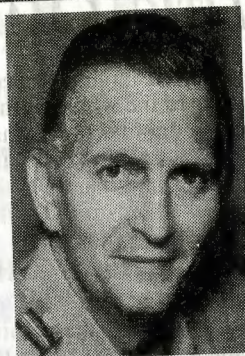
SHARING A LIGHT MOMENT: Prime Minister Edward Seaga shares a joke with Deputy Prime Minister Hugh Shearer and Governor General, Sir Florizel Glasspole at Jamaica House.

40 YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA...

E408

HIS POLITICAL RECORD IN GENERAL ELECTIONS IN WEST KINGSTON SINCE 1961



1961 "No" (JLP) - 5,055 (56.6%)
(Referendum) "Yes" (PNP) - 3,820 (42.7%)
JLP Majority: 1,235. Rank: 34th
12,944 listed. 8,938 voted (69%). 63 rejected (0.7%)
JLP victory while constit. was held by PNP's H.R. Wallace.

1962 Edward Seaga (JLP) - 5,851 (51.56%)
Dudley Thompson (PNP) - 5,171 (45.56%)
Byron Moore (PPP) - 249 (2.19%)
Samuel Brown (Ind) - 78 (0.69%)
Seaga's Majority: 680 (353 absolute). Rank 36th
14,023 listed. 11,451 voted (81.7%). 102 rejected (0.9%)
Seaga won in 64 of the 93 boxes in the constituency.

1967 Edward Seaga (JLP) - 4,729 (68.6%)
Dudley Thompson (PNP) - 1,957 (28.4%)
Seaga's Majority: 2,772 (absolute). Rank: 8th
8,036 listed. 6,897 voted (85.8%). 211 rejected (3%)

1972 Edward Seaga (JLP) - 5,516 (78.5%)
John Maxwell (PNP) - 1,450 (20.6%)
Seaga's Majority: 4,066 (absolute). Rank: 8th
8,581 listed. 7,027 voted (81.9%). 61 rejected (0.9%)
Seaga won in 98 of the 106 boxes in the constituency.

1976 Edward Seaga (JLP) - 8,075 (77.5%)
Iran Wilkins (PNP) - 2,318 (22.3%)
Seaga's Majority: 5,757 (absolute). Rank: 5th
11,104 listed. 10,414 voted (93.8%). 21 rejected (0.2%)
Seaga won in 82 of the 102 boxes in the constituency.

1980 Edward Seaga (JLP) - 9,335 (93.9%)
Chaderton Ward (PNP) - 575 (5.8%)
Seaga's Majority: 8,760 (absolute). Rank: 4th
10,618 listed. 9,945 voted (93.7%). 35 rejected (0.3%)
Seaga won in 99 of the 105 boxes in the constituency

1983 Edward Seaga (JLP) - elected unopposed
by acclamation

SOME INTERESTING FACTS ON HIS POLITICAL CAREER

- The youngest person to be appointed to the Legislative Council (now Senate) at age 29 in 1959.
- Second youngest winner in 1962 at age 32 and also second youngest Minister appointed to Cabinet.
- He was a member of the House Committee, which drafted the Jamaica Constitution for independence in 1962.
- The only person to win the West Kingston seat more than once and has won it nine consecutive times.
- His record of nine victories in nine contests also makes him the most consistent politician in the system since adult suffrage.
- One of three former Prime Ministers of Jamaica to represent West Kingston. The others were Bustamante (1944-49) and Shearer (1955-59).
- Only the second person to hold the full title of 'Leader' of the JLP after Sir Alexander Bustamante. Both Sangster and Shearer were First Deputy Leaders at respective times. The Party's Constitution was amended to make this so in 1975.
- Became Leader of the JLP in 1974 in 31 years after formation of the party, which occurred 13 years after his birth.
- Our longest-serving Finance Minister, with over 13 years.
- Has initiated and established more national institutions in Jamaica than any other political figure since 1944.
- The only Jamaica Prime Minister to commit JDF soldiers to action overseas when they took part in military operations in Grenada in 1983.
- The longest-serving Member of Parliament of the 304 elected members since 1944 now at 37 years & 10 months.

Researched & compiled by Troy Caine

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA...

E408

THE LONGEST SERVING MEMBERS ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT SINCE 1944

1. *Edward P.G. Seaga (JLP) - West Kingston: since Apr. '62 - 37 yrs, 9 mths
2. Leopold A. Lynch (JLP) - West Portland: Dec. '44, Dec. '76 - 32 yrs
3. Enid M. Bennett (JLP) - Cent. & W. Cent. St Cath. Feb. '67, Dec. '97 - 30 yrs, 10 mths
3. Dr Neville E. Gallimore (JLP) - S. West St Ann: Feb. '67, Dec. '97 - 30 yrs, 10 mths
5. Hugh L. Shearer (JLP) - W. Kgn 55-59; S. & S.E. Clar. Feb. '67-Mar. '93 - 30 yrs, 7 mths
6. Florizel A. Glasspole (PNP) - E. Kgn & P. Royal: Dec. '44-May '73 - 28 yrs, 5 mths
7. Edwin L. Allen (JLP) - N.W. Clar. Jul 50-Jul '59, Apr. 62-Dec. '76, Oct. 80-Dec. '83 - 26 yrs, 10 mths
8. Winston V. Jones (PNP) - South East & Cent. Manch: Jan. '55, Oct. '80 - 25 yrs, 9 mths
9. *Seymour St E. Mullings (PNP) - S.E. St Ann: Mar. '69-Dec. '83 & since Feb. '89 - 25 yrs, 8 mths
10. Lynden G. Newland (JLP) - Cent. St And. Dec. '44-Dec. '49; E. St Thomas: Dec. '56-Dec. '76 - 25 yrs

*Denotes members still serving in the House. Source: Troy Caine Research © 1999

ANOTHER FACE

Cont'd from Page 58

An' from de Cemetery in de Valley
Hear de warnin' of de Dove,
To de Poco band in trouble
Beside de River Love.

Two candles, an' two hundred faces,
By a backyard water hole
Watchin' fifty heavin', breathin' brethren,
Wheel an' jump-up, dip an' roll.
In de darkness of de crowded yard
Hear de Cymbal call de dead,
Hear de shouts of people crowdin' round,
Hear de Dove now call de Maid.

"River Maid! River Maid!
Death-an' - Destruction near";
Have courage children, labour on,
Deliverance is here.
Lawd! how much longer wid dis labour
Pass me through an' mek me dance,
Ah want to feel de water
Give me sweet deliverance.

Water me! Do, water me!
Dash some water 'pon me head,
Bring me gown now for me Bearer,
Leave de white wrap, use de red;
Bring me rod an' me guidin' lights,
Clear de pass for me to go,
Move dere little Coolie Mother,
Is my tiem to deliver now.

White gown, red wrap, on head an' belly,
Barefoot in de cleansin' flow,
Sink down 'pon me knees ah feel it,
Soak me skin till blackness show.
Down 'pon knees an' bendin' forward,
Dip an' rock back like a wave,
River is a t'ing dat run an' hump:
So river run, so dance de Maid.

River wash me! River bathe me!
Water rinse me roun' an' roun',
Coldness mingle wid sweat perspire.
Whaaa! Sometin' een ya deh hol' me down!

Ah feel ah funnynessin me body
Rush me head like a sudden strike!
Bu'n me belly like man deh rub me.
An' black me brains wid blindin' light!

Me t'ink me hear, an' yet me don't hear,
Me t'ink me see, but me only gaze,
Like a madness it deh cut me,
Inside tangle, outside blaze;
Like sometin' bustin' near me brain,
It deh bind me, it deh fret me.

Head ah mnove, back ah move, foot get up and' jerk
Outa water into mud, me body start to work;
Rolling'-up, dirty-up, lashin' roun' an' roun',
Tearin' -up, sweatin' -up, body on de groun'.
"Rest! Rest!" de Shepherd call,
"Contrary-spirits-harass-her-way,
Just-a-fiver peace-Revival-children
Mek-we-hear-what-de-Cymbal-say."

"Lally-lelly-lallam-ga-lee-oohlay,
Lally-lelly-lerry-ulelly-gulay,
Lallam-ga-lurry-ben-tarry-balay,
Tarry-ulere ben-bullum-relay,
OOOOH-Lay!"
In "unknown tongues" de Cymbal chant
Askin' what de spirits want.

"Rum-oh! Me-hear-de-name-call,
Me-tell-yu-um, oh! De-name-done-call,
Blood-Oh! Me-hear-de-name-call,
Dem-sayin'-blood, oh! de-name-done-call."

"A-funny-little-man-called-Death,
"Im-walk-from-door-to-door,
A-very-little-man-called-Death,
An'-Death-might-call-yu-yet,
"Im-walk-go-roun'-an'-roun'.
Dis-funny-little-man-called-Death,
De-man-might-call-you-now,
Yes!-Death-might-get-yu-yet.

"Read de Book! - and Pray!"

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YEARS OF SERVICE, LEADERSHIP & VISION

EDWARD SEAGA...

E408



Playing cricket with Christopher Dehring and friends.

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TAKING IT EASY



A relaxed Eddie Seaga at home in the 70s

HIGHLIGHT ON CARLA SEAGA

Carla Seaga holds a Masters Degree in Public Administration (MPS) and was integral in the formulation of the range of social programmes in the 1980's, notably: HEART; Solidarity; Leap and The Food Stamp Programme, among others.

She was particularly responsible for the JLP's comprehensive, futuristic Social Well-being Programme, published in 1988 as the JLP's plan for the 1990's.

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Mr. Seaga with his wife Carla.



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Mr. Seaga and his wife Carla.

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